A H I C



John Carter Brown.



BOUND BY F.BEDFORD

By Charles Lloyd.

THE

CONDUCT

OF THE

Late Miniſtry Examined;

From *July*, 1765, to *March*, 1766.

[Price Three Shillings and Six-Pence in Boards.]

RP.J.C.B.

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THE CONDUCT OF THE Late Adminiſtration EXAMINED.

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

Original and Authentic DOCUMENTS.

Fuit quondam ita firma hæc Civitas et valens, ut Negligentiam Senatus, vel etiam Injurias Civium ferre poſſet: Jam non poteſt. Ærarium nullum eſt, Auctoritas Principum cecidit, Conſenſus Ordinum eſt divulſus, Suffragia deſcripta tenentur a Paucis, bonorum Animus ad Nutum noſtri Ordinis expeditus jam non erit; Civem qui ſe pro Patriæ Salute opponat Invidiæ fruſtra poſthac requiretis.

Cicer. Orat. de Haruſp. Reſp.

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RPJCB

THE

CONDUCT

OF THE

Late Adminiſtration, &c.

THE reader will ſee in the motto prefixed to this tract, the reaſons for undertaking it: the ſtate of the commonwealth is ſuch, whether we conſider the debt, the factions, and the venality of the kingdom; or the little proſpect there is of finding *another miniſter* who will oppoſe himſelf to the two latter, for the ſake of alleviating the former; that it can no longer ſupport our

vices; though it has ſtill perhaps ſtrength ſufficient to bear an application of the proper remedies. But theſe remedies cannot be hoped for 'till our former conduct, the motives, and the effects of it are generally underſtood. A perſuaſion that if theſe were fairly laid before the public, our opinions, and conſequently our meaſures would be altered; and that it is not even yet too late to retrieve, in ſome degree, the loſſes which the ſtate has ſuſtained while her intereſts have been neglected and ſacrificed, was the motive which produced this publication: a motive which, if it does not give ſucceſs to the deſign, will, it is hoped, carry with it an excuſe for the attempt. For although perſonal altercations and private feuds have degraded the tribunal of the *public*, the attention of which they have ſo long engroſſed; yet the queſtions which are peculiarly proper for its cognizance, are thoſe which concern the *honor*, the *wealth* or the *ſafety* of the community; and

and eſpecially thoſe plans of *foreign* and *domeſtic policy*, which are purſued by thoſe to whom the intereſts of the ſtate are entruſted: no introduction therefore or apology is neceſſary to a tract, which propoſes to enquire into the merit of thoſe meaſures which have lately been adopted by the late *miniſtry*, with regard to points of the greateſt importance to the empire, commerce and ſecurity of Great Britain.

It were ever to be wiſhed that enquiries of this ſort could be made without deſcending to perſonal accuſations; for the ſubjects are much leſſened when the reputations of particular men, the praiſe or cenſure of ſome *miniſter*, becomes a conſiderable part of them. But on this occaſion, it is feared that this reſerve is impoſſible; when we judge of the merits of meaſures, we neceſſarily judge of thoſe by whom they were planned and executed. If, however, in the courſe of the enquiry blame ſhall be thrown on particular perſons, the writer can truly ſay, that this was not in his

firſt intention, and that it is only the neceſſary reſult of the ſubject he treats; a ſubject of ſo much importance, that he has not ſuffered the diſlike which he feels in common with almoſt all mankind to perſonal cenſure, to ſtifle that information which the public has a right to receive upon a point which goes up to the very firſt principles of our conſtitution, and involves in it queſtions upon which the exiſtence of all government depends. The reader eaſily ſees that the ſubject I mean is the *ſtamp act*. This is the meaſure of the greateſt importance, both in itſelf and in its conſequences; referring therefore the other plans of the year to ſome future hour, it is propoſed at preſent to *examine the conduct of the miniſtry*, with regard to this *act*, from the the time at which they came into office, to that at which it was repealed.

If this is done without partiality, the perſons whoſe conduct is examined will have no reaſon to complain; they eſpecially will have no reaſon to complain

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of being called to a public trial, who are perpetually aſſuring us that their delight, their merit, and their ſupport is, that they poſſeſs entirely the favour of the public. To diſprove the truth of this aſſertion, *nec enim* (to uſe the words of Cicero) *populum romanum eſſe illum puto, qui conſtat ex iis qui mercede conducuntur, qui impelluntur ut vim afferant magiſtratibus, ut obſideant ſenatum*; and to ſhew by what arts they gained, for a ſhort time, the appearance of popularity, would be eaſy; but it is of little conſequence in itſelf, and foreign to the preſent ſubject; the diſcuſſion of which will however determine (which is a queſtion of more importance) whether they have deſerved it.

To decide on the merits of their conduct, it is neceſſary that the *ſtate of affairs* ſhould be known; that the *intelligence* received from America, the *mode* and the *degree* of the *reſiſtance* there made, *the wiſhes of our friends, the efforts of the oppoſers, the conduct of our officers*, ſhould be ſtated; eſpecially that

that the *inſtructions* ſent by the *miniſtry* in conſequence of the informations they had received, ſhould be examined. Upon theſe grounds this enquiry is conducted; whenever a fact is aſſerted, the authorities for it are quoted or referred to; authorities ſo convincing as to leave no room for doubt; they conſiſt of *letters, minutes of councils, inſtructions, advices, orders,* tranſmitted to and from America. *Tranſcripts* of theſe are now in the poſſeſſion of ſo many perſons, and the power of conſulting them is in the reach of ſo many more, that the reader will not ſuſpect any falſe quotation is attempted in circumſtances which render the detection of it ſo very eaſy. Some of theſe are inſerted in *the appendix*; from others extracts only are made, with references in the notes to the letters themſelves, and credit is taken from the exactneſs of them upon the ſame ground; as well as for thoſe in which the names of the writers are omitted; the only reaſon of this omiſſion is to avoid the poſſibility of informing the *Ameri-*

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cans (who, it is feared, do not want this information) by what channels the intelligence of their proceedings was conveyed to us; for, to the difgrace of Great Britain, her friends and advocates in one of her provinces, are not (it ſeems) to be protected or avowed. And ſurely it is time that the public ſhould receive *the evidence* which has hitherto been induſtriouſly concealed from them, whilſt falſe, though poſitive aſſertions, and unmeaning declamation have been ſubſtituted in its place: it is time, that having heard with eagerneſs and even with partiality the *claims* of *America*, they ſhould hear with patience, at leaſt whilſt I plead, *the cauſe of Great Britain*; that they ſhould read with impartiality, whilſt I ſtate very ſhortly, (not *the merits*, for they are beſide the preſent queſtion, but) *the principles and progreſs of the ſtamp act*: an act to which no private intereſts, no party views, nothing but public motives could give riſe; and *the intentions* of which, however they might be treated

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in *America*, deſerve the approbation of every inhabitant of *Great Britain*.

The firſt and great principle of all government, and of all ſociety, is, that *ſupport is due in return for protection*; that every ſubject ſhould contribute to the common defence, in which his own is included. *Nam neque quies gentium ſine armis, neque arma ſine ſtipendiis, neque ſtipendia ſine tributis haberi queunt.* Tacit. Hiſt. lib. 4. It was neceſſary, and it was juſt, to recur to this principle at the cloſe of the laſt war. It was found *neceſſary* to maintain upwards of 10000 men for the defence of our *colonies*; an expence of between 3 and 400,000 l. *per ann.* great part of which was entirely new, was, on that account, to be incurred; it was *juſt* that the *colonies* which had profited ſo much by the war, whoſe intereſts, commerce and ſecurity had been the firſt objects of *the peace*; and of whoſe ability to bear at leaſt ſome proportion of that new expence there neither was nor is any reaſon to doubt, ſhould contribute (not

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to ſupport or to defend Great Britain but) *about a third part of the expence* neceſſary for their own defence and protection.

Upon this general and acknowledged principle, and upon this application of it, which was juſt in itſelf, and which the ſituation of this country made neceſſary, and which it might have been expected, would appear neither unreaſonable or unpleaſing to an Engliſh ear, *the ſtamp act was planned.* In the beginning of the year 1764 the propoſition of impoſing, by a duty on ſtamps, *a tax on America*, in conformity to uninterrupted precedents for near 100 years, was made, and thrown into the form of *reſolutions*. At that time the merits of this queſtion were opened at large; thoſe who have lately ſo loudly aſſerted the *privileges* and *exemptions* of America were then publicly called upon to deny, if they thought it fitting, the right of the legiſlature to impoſe any tax either internal or external upon that country: and not a ſingle perſon ven-

tured to controvert that right. A year's delay however was given, that any information might be received from *America*, with regard to the *expediency* of the particular tax propoſed, not to permit the right of impoſing it to be controverted. This diſtinction was fully opened at that time, and afterwards explained to *the agents* of the *provinces*.

This delay was however abuſed by ſome of the *Americans*; and when, in the beginning of the year 1765, the plan was carried into execution by a bill, ſeveral *petitions* from *America* which *denied their right of impoſing taxes on the colonies*, were preſented to the *parliament*, and were therefore *rejected without a diviſion*; *no one perſon* having been then found, in either houſe, who would declare it to be his opinion that America was not, in this inſtance, ſubject to Great-Britain [a]. In 1766 *the act* was

[a] And yet it has been aſſerted that this oppoſition would have been made, if ſome intelligence relating to

was repealed, but even then *the adminiſtration*, determined as they were on

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to this matter had not been ſuppreſſed at that time; as this was publicly ſaid, the public is to be informed of the fact, which was this.

On the 11th of December, 1764, the board of trade reported to the king, that the aſſemblies of Maſſachuſet's bay and New-York had, *in their reſolutions and proceedings* (copies of which they tranſmitted with the report) *treated the acts and reſolutions of the legiſlature of Great-Britain with the moſt indecent diſreſpect.* The privy council adviſed the king, *to give directions that the ſame be laid before parliament, at ſuch time and in ſuch manner as his Majeſty ſhould be pleaſed to direct and appoint.*

This poſtponed the laying it before parliament, as it was meant to do; but it deprived the parliament of no information, for the aſſemblies had inſtructed their agents here to prepare petitions in the ſame words; and particularly Mr. Mauduit, the agent for Maſſachuſet's bay, was directed to draw his principles and arguments from Mr. Otis's book of The Rights of the Colonies (which had been reprinted here). The colonies were obeyed. Petitions were preſented, aſſerting the right of freedom from taxes impoſed by Great-Britain, on the very grounds of the reſolutions and proceedings which the board of trade had tranſmitted to the king; theſe were rejected by parliament, not from ignorance of

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the repeal, and though they were to carry their point chiefly by the aſſiſtance of *that gentleman*'s ſpeeches who denied the *right of England* to tax the colonies, were however obliged, before they ventured to propoſe this meaſure to parliament, to prepare the way by *a bill aſſerting the right* in the fulleſt and ſtrongeſt terms,

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their contents, but becauſe their contents were known; becauſe they denied the power of Great-Britain. No information was with-held therefore by this delay, the cauſe of which was tenderneſs to the colonies. For had the king called the attention of parliament to proceedings in which their acts were treated with the moſt *indecent diſreſpect*; their own dignity muſt have drawn from them votes of cenſure and ſeverity towards the offenders: and therefore the miniſtry, who were taking the proper methods to form and enforce the act, which would have ſufficiently repreſſed the claims of the Americans, and effectually aſſerted the dignity and authority of Great-Britain, withheld a paper which would have given no information but what was given in a manner leſs calculated to irritate mens minds.

So that however the public may have been miſled by the authority of *names* quoted on the other ſide of the queſtion, it can be doubted of no longer; *the ſupreme legiſlature* has aſſerted, in the moſt explicit and ſolemn manner, its *right* to the obedience of its American ſubjects; and therefore the aſſertions of *particular perſons*, oppoſed to this, not only deſerve that diſregard which they will meet, who propagate opinions contrary to the common declared ſenſe, and detrimental to the intereſts of their country, but become alſo highly criminal; for it is now as criminal to aſſert *the exemption of America from taxes impoſed by parliament*, as it is to aſſert, that parliament had no right to repeal the ſtamp act.

The right of Great-Britain being eſtabliſhed and univerſally acknowledged (except by about ſix or ſeven voices) it is certain, that whatever the private opinions of particular men might be, it

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was the duty of every ſubject to have ſubmitted to this law while it ſubſiſted; and the duty of thoſe to whom the execution of it was committed, to have enforced it.

The next ſtep therefore is to enquire whether *the adminiſtration* took the meaſures proper and neceſſary to procure due obedience to a law in which the intereſts and dignity of Great-Britain were ſo deeply concerned; or whether they are guilty of having, by neglect and connivance, encouraged a reſiſtance to her authority, and ſhaked the very foundations of her empire.

To judge of this, it is neceſſary to examine the inſtructions and orders iſſued by the ſ-----y of ſt--e for the ſouthern department, to whom this important branch of our dominions is officially entruſted.

The letters of Mr. ſ-------y C----y are of three dates; they are *reprinted* here,

here, having been already printed in America. The firſt of them is *a ſingle letter* to *governor Fauquier*, dated September 14, 1765 [b]. On the 24th of October, 1765, the ſ-------y wrote to major general Gage [c], to governor Bernard [d], and a circular letter to the governors of the colonies [e]; and on the 15th of December, 1765, he ſent letters to major general Gage [f], and to lieutenant governor Colden [g]. Of this laſt an extract only is given, the reſt is omitted, as it contains a cenſure on a particular perſon.

The reader will juſtly be ſurpriſed, that on a ſubject ſo important, at a time ſo critical, no more directions were iſſued; he will be more ſo, to find that the letter to governor Bernard, of the firſt date, and that of the laſt, to general Gage, refer to thoſe of the 24th of

[b] See Appendix, No. 1. [c] See Appendix, No. 2.
[d] See Appendix, No. 3. [e] See Appendix, No. 4
[f] See Appendix, No. 5. [g] See Appendix, No. 6.

of October, 1765, for inſtructions, (the letter to governor Colden is on a particular ſubject only) that the letter of the 24th of October, 1765, though addreſſed to ſo many different *governors*, preſiding over people ſo different in their *form of government*, *character* and *conduct*, is the ſame to each; and indeed a mere *fac ſimile* of that ſent to the *commander in chief of the Engliſh forces*; that in fact only *one inſtruction* was iſſued during that period, and that from all his *eſſays on obedience*, it would be difficult to extract any thing which could give real directions or aſſiſtance to the governors, whoſe conduct was to determine, whether the empire of North America ſhould be retained in obedience, or thrown into an independance fatal to themſelves and dangerous to Great-Britain.

For the ſake of perſpicuity and of juſtice, the method obſerved is this, before each letter is conſidered, the in-

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formation which the writer of it had then received is ſtated; for it is only by thus placing ourſelves in his ſituation, that we can form an impartial judgment on the propriety of his conduct. After conſidering each of theſe diſpatches, there is thrown together the intelligence received ſubſequent to any orders given by him, but previous to the repeal of the *ſtamp act*.

It is neceſſary to begin by a deſcription of the ſtate of this matter, when the ſ--ls of the ſouthern department were put into the hands of Mr. C----y.

As ſoon as the *ſtamp act* had received the *royal aſſent*, which was on the 22d. of *March*, 1765, the adminiſtration which had planned it began to take ſuch meaſures as might moſt effectually carry it into execution: and though ſuch complaints of the future burden had been received from *America*, as are ever made by thoſe who have been long indulgently exempted from bearing any;

and though ſome of that country had proceeded even to deny the right of *Great-Britain* to impoſe them; yet the act was not yet paſſed; and to impoſe and to ſecure the collection of the tax would be ſo effectual a vindication of that right, that in lenity to the colonies any ſeverer animadverſion on their conduct was ſpared.

This act had given a juriſdiction for the recovery of the penalties, incurred by the breach of it, to the ſame courts of admiralty which for near a century had poſſeſſed that juriſdiction with regard to the laws of revenue and trade. This clauſe it had in common with thoſe laws which had formerly paſſed reſpecting ſubjects of the like nature; but (and that was peculiar to this act) it provided a remedy for the *inconveniences* and *abuſes*, to which thoſe courts might be liable.

While our colonies were few in number, and ſmall in extent, the court of admiralty

admiralty could never be far diſtant from, nor its officers unknown to the clients in that court: but upon the encreaſe of them to their preſent greatneſs of territory and people, it had been a grievance complained of by the perſons the moſt loyally diſpoſed to the government of *England*, that the diſtance of many of the provinces from the ſeat of this court, with the difficulty of obtaining the aſſiſtance of lawyers, muſt often operate ſo as to bar the juſteſt claim; and deprive the ſubjects of their property, by diſabling them from proſecuting their right to it. Another material objection aroſe from the conſtitution of this court; in which the judge was paid by a poundage of the money ariſing from ſuch ſeizures as were condemned: this, as it made it his intereſt rather to condemn than to acquit, if it did not influence the deciſions of the judge, took from them however that air of impartiality which can alone ſecure to them reſpect.

To obviate the poſſibility of that fraud and oppreſſion to which theſe circumſtances might give riſe, a clauſe had been inſerted in the ſtamp act, giving a power of forming ſuch a number of courts of vice-admiralty, as might place the deciſion of his property more within the reach of every ſubject in *America*; and in execution of this deſign, thoſe who were then commiſſioners of the treaſury, formed and ſubmitted to the *privy council* a plan for appointing three courts of *vice admiralty*, with proper diſtricts, and with ample and honourable fixed ſalaries to the judges, in lieu of all fees; that ſo ſituated, and ſo ſupported, applications to them might be leſs expenſive and inconvenient, and their deciſions leſs ſuſpected [h].

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[h] Even this proviſion, which redreſſed a real grievance, which had been ſeverely felt and juſtly complained of, was rendered ineffectual in ſpite of all repreſentations, becauſe it had the ill fortune to ſtand a part of the *ſtamp act*. And the Americans, therefore

The treaſury, after conſulting the *board of trade* and the *agents* of ſeveral of the *colonies*, next applied themſelves to the dividing the country, in which the act was to operate, into ſuch diſtricts as might be moſt convenient for the receipt of the revenue, and leaſt troubleſome to thoſe from whom it was to be collected.

After receiving and conſidering the plans of the ſtamp office, who were neceſſarily to be employed in it, for carrying the law into execution, they formed ſuch inſtructions as might be adequate to the occaſions of the officers to whom the execution of it was to be entruſted.

The choice of theſe officers was of great importance; they did not therefore proceed to this haſtily, or in the com-

therefore, will owe the grievances which they ſuffer from the preſent ſituation and conſtitution of the court of admiralty, to the adminiſtration which repealed the ſtamp act.

common track of official recommendation: they waited till they received from the moſt reſpected men in each colony, applications in favour of perſons of the beſt credit in it; and they complied with theſe, both as it gave the beſt ſecurity for the diſcharge of the truſt to be committed to the officers, and as it might much facilitate the collection of the duty.

Whoever reads the liſt of diſtributors appointed on this occaſion, will ſee that the general intention was to beſtow that office on *coloniſts*: this would prevent the diſſatisfaction which muſt always and in every country ariſe, at ſeeing offices of profit in the collection of a duty impoſed on them, thrown into any other hands than their own; and would engage the principal men in each colony to ſupport the perſon whom they had themſelves recommended, to aſſiſt the execution of the law, and to conciliate to it the minds of their countrymen. The influence of this

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meaſure would be the more extenſive, as the appointment of the inferior diſtributors was neceſſarily reſted in the principal diſtributor for every province; the perſons appointed by him would, it is probable, be his friends, neighbours or dependants, coloniſts alſo; and the ſame motives would engage therefore throughout the country a number of coloniſts in the ſame cauſe.

In fact it appears, that this deſign was generally executed, except in the new colonies, in which deſcription *Nova-Scotia* and *Georgia* are included; in theſe it was ſcarcely poſſible that any natives ſhould be found capable of executing the office: but even in theſe the principal was ſo ſtrictly adhered to, that in *Nova-Scotia* a gentleman was ſaid to be therefore appointed becauſe he was one of the firſt *ſettlers* in that *colony*.

The board of treaſury was not leſs attentive to the other qualification of their officer, that he ſhould be not on-

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ly a coloniſt, but recommended by perſons beſt acquainted with, and moſt concerned and reſpected in the ſeveral provinces: few were appointed who were not either of the council or the aſſembly. The reader, perhaps, does not expect to be informed that *colonel Mercer* was recommended by *Mr. Montague, the agent for Virginia, in the name of the governor, council, and aſſembly of that province*; which *Mr. Mercer* himſelf inſiſted on, as his apology to the people of *Virginia*. Dr. *Franklyn, Agent for Penſylvania*, applied for, and ſucceeded in behalf of *Mr. Hughes*. *Mr. Coxe*, diſtributor for *New Jerſey*, owed the office to the ſollicitation of the ſame gentleman, whoſe *ſon* was then *governor of the province*; and beſides the application of *Mr. Anthony Bacon*, in favour of Mr. *Mac Evers*, for diſtributor of *New-York*, I nave ſeen the copy of a letter from *Mr. MacEvers* to *Mr. alderman Barlow Trecothic*, in which, to uſe his own expreſſion, he repeats *his great obligations* to that alderman,

derman, *for having him nominated a diſtributor of the ſtamps.*

In the purſuit of theſe plans, and before the officers could be ſent with thoſe inſtructions which were preparing for them, the adminiſtration was ſtopped by that change of government, of which, as the author of it is dead, I ſhall only ſay, that by placing *Mr. C----y* in the office of ſ------y of ſt---e, for the ſouthern department, it entruſted the execution of a law, of the greateſt importance in its conſequences, to one of the very few perſons who had oppoſed the paſſing it. The conſequence has been ſuch as might have been expected, was foreſeen by thinking men, and, as will appear from the courſe of the evidence, *deſigned* by the *new miniſters.*

Previous to the *change of miniſtry*, not only the government had received no intelligence which might give them reaſon to ſuſpect *reſiſtance* in *America*;

even the perſons who were afterwards the moſt forward in magnifying this reſiſtance, and applying the arguments drawn from it to their own purpoſes, had then no expectation of it. It is not poſſible to ſuppoſe that *Mr. Trecothick*, *Mr. Bacon*, *Dr. Franklyn*, who ſolicited, *colonel Mercer*, and *Mr. Meſervè*, who accepted this office, would either have ſolicited or accepted it, if they had thought they ſhould have been expoſed to that violence, which the neglect of ſome, and the evil intentions of others, afterwards produced. Another and ſtill ſtronger proof ariſes from the teſtimonies of thoſe who were the beſt informed of the progreſs, and moſt intereſted in the ſucceſs, of this act in *America*. It is the opinion of almoſt every officer there, that it would be obeyed ; an opinion given at a period of time ſubſequent to this, and even after an avowed reſiſtance to it had been raiſed, neglected and encouraged. It would be endleſs to quote all theſe opinions, ſome of them may be neceſſary, a few will be ſufficient.

In

In a letter from *New-York* [i] it is said, *The people now begin to cool a little, and ſome of the moſt conſiderable of them to think how they ſhall do their buſineſs after the firſt of November, and cannot conceive of any method of doing it without making uſe of ſtamped paper; never was an act better made to execute itſelf than this is.*

Another writer from *New England* [k] (after a very exact deſcription of the pains taken to prevent the execution of the law) ſays, *I cannot help thinking that when a clear repreſentation of the miſeries which await the province, if the ſtamp act is not executed at its day, ſhall be made to them, they cannot but be alarmed; and muſt ſacrifice their prejudices and their popularity too, if neceſſary, to ſave their country from immediate ruin.*

In the colony in which the inſults on government had been moſt violent, a

[i] See letter to the commiſſioners of ſtamps, dated September 30, 1765.

[k] See letter to the lords of trade, dated September 7, 1765.

perſon well acquainted with theſe outrages ſollicits the appointment of diſtributor of ſtamps for the province, of which the mob had forced a reſignation from another hand; *That* [l] (theſe are his words) *I may likewiſe enjoy the advantage of that office when it is quietly ſubmitted to, as no doubt it will be in a few months.*

A letter from *Virginia* has this paſſage [m], *I am not altogether without hopes that the diſtreſs they will feel, on a total ſtagnation of buſineſs, will open their eyes, and pave the way for the act executing itſelf; for I am credibly informed, that ſome of the moſt buſy men, in oppoſing the reception of the ſtamps, are already alarmed at the conſequences of the imprudent ſteps they have taken.*

Even

[l] See letter to the commiſſioners of ſtamps, dated New-York, October 26, 1765.

[m] See a letter to the lords of trade, dated November 8, 1765.

Even ſo late as *December*, 1765, another [n] letter from *New-York* has theſe words; *Since that time nothing has been done, and we have waited to ſee the law execute itſelf, which I am perſuaded it muſt do ſhortly; for the ſuſpenſion of it has occaſioned ſo many inconveniences here, in every branch of buſineſs, that they do already begin to be ſeverely felt.*

Theſe circumſtances, ſays the ſame perſon [o], *induce me to think that the face of affairs will change very ſoon, and I hope in my next letter to give a more favourable account of our proceedings.*

And, to cloſe this point with an evidence of the ſtrongeſt kind, *the council and houſe of repreſentatives of Maſſachuſet's bay* ſpeak thus of the act [p] of the former ſeſſions, granting certain duties in

[n] See a letter from New-York to the lords of the treaſury, dated December, 1765.

[o] See letter to Mr. Conway, dated December 21, 1765.

[p] See addreſs, dated November 3, 1764.

in the Britiſh colonies and plantations in America: *To which act we humbly apprehend we may propoſe our objections, at the ſame time we acknowledge our duty to yield obedience to it while it continues unrepealed.*

This was the ſtate of affairs when that *miniſtry* was removed; the intention of removing them was declared in the middle of *May*, 1765. The next *adminiſtration* came into office in the beginning of *July*; Mr. *C——y*'s letter, which gives notice of his appointment to the ſouthern department, is dated the 12th of that month.

They had reaſon to know, from the intelligence of, and ſeveral letters received at the *ſecretary of ſtate's office*, that the objections to the *ſtamp act* were of three kinds; *the firſt* aroſe from the opinion [q] that the powers given by that act, to the court of vice-admiralty conſtituted

[q] See petition of council and houſe of repreſentatives of Maſſachuſet's bay

ſtituted over all America, would be grievous to the ſubject from the great diſtance of that court, and would diſtinguiſh the ſubjects in the colonies from thoſe in Great-Britain by depriving them of a trial by jury; *the ſecond* from the fear that it would exhauſt the provinces of their ſpecie; and *the third* from their claim to the privilege of judging of their own ability, and of having the ſole right of impoſing taxes on themſelves. To obviate the two firſt of theſe objections, nothing was required of them but to execute *the proviſoes* of the act, and thoſe other meaſures which the former *miniſtry* had already begun. With regard to the firſt, they had only to remind them that a juriſdiction had been aſſigned to the judges of the court of admiralty, upon the laws of revenue and of trade, without juries, for near a century paſt[r]. *The reaſon for putting theſe cauſes in a courſe of trial without any*

[r] See letter to ſecretary of ſtate, dated November 10, 1764.

any jury, undoubtedly aroſe from an apprehenſion that juries, in theſe caſes, were not to be truſted: the force of this reaſon may be abated, but I cannot think that it is wholly deſtroyed: no candid man will, I believe, take upon him to declare, that at this time an American jury is impartial and indifferent enough to determine upon frauds in trade. Theſe are the words of a very well informed and candid judge. They might have informed them, that it is ſo far from being true, that the ſubjects in North-America, by being deprived in theſe caſes of trials by jury, are in that reſpect diſtinguiſhed from their fellow ſubjects in Great-Britain; that in this very inſtance of the ſtamp duties, the penalties are, by the laws now in force for collecting them in Great-Britain, recoverable alſo *without trial by jury*, as well as on all the laws of exciſe, and many others reſpecting the public revenue in Great-Britain.

With regard to the ſeat and the ſupport of the court, the former *lords of*

the

the treaſury had made *a repreſentation to his Majeſty in council* (founded on a clauſe inſerted in the ſtamp act for this very purpoſe) ſtating[s] the expediency of giving the judges in America ſufficient and honourable ſalaries in lieu of all poundage and fees, and of eſtabliſhing three different courts of vice-admiralty, with proper diſtricts annexed to each. Had the ſucceeding *miniſters* condeſcended to execute, on this plan, the laws of their country, a plan which had been fully opened and approved in parliament at the time when the ſtamp act was propoſed, all the diſſatisfaction and clamour which aroſe from miſrepreſentation on theſe points had been remedied.

It would have calmed the fears which were expreſſed, that the colonies would be drained of their ſpecie, if the miniſtry had iſſued to the ſeveral officers the

[s] See memorial from the commiſſioners of the treaſury to the privy council, dated July 4, 1765.

directions which the late commiſſioners of the treaſury had given on this ſubject, viz. [1] *That, in order to obviate the inconvenience of bringing into this kingdom the money to be raiſed by the ſtamp duties, all the produce of the American duties, ariſing or to ariſe by vertue of any Britiſh act of parliament, ſhould from time to time be paid to the deputy pay-maſter in America, to defray the ſubſiſtence of the troops, and any military expences incurred in the colonies.*

The laſt objection which aroſe from the claim of the colonies to an exemption from taxes impoſed by parliament, was to be treated in a different manner; as the two former were to be obviated by explanations, this, now the act impoſing a tax was paſſed, was to be repreſſed by authority. They ſaw that a part of the Americans was impatient of thoſe reſtrictions, which it is the intereſt of the whole empire to impoſe with regard

[1] See treaſury minute, dated July 9. 1765.

gard to their commerce; the late regulations of their trade had been petitioned againſt as grievous and oppreſſive, becauſe they contradicted their illicit views; and from the general temper of that country it appeared, that it was neceſſary to hold the rein with a temperate but firm hand. But beſides this, the fulleſt accounts were ſoon received of the turbulent and ſeditious behaviour of a part of *America*. So early as the 27th of July, 1765, a copy of the reſolutions of the colony of Virginia was tranſmitted to the miniſtry, in which the right of the parliament of Great-Britain to tax that colony is abſolutely denied: theſe reſolutions are printed in the appendix [u]. The Governor had thought it neceſſary to diſſolve an aſſembly capable of ſuch an inſult on the legiſlature of Great-Britain: at the time this pacquet arrived no board of trade exiſted, and the papers were therefore carried immediately to the ſecretary

[u] See Appendix, No. 7.

of ſtate. As ſoon as a new board of trade was formed they repreſented to the King in council that, [w] *Theſe reſolutions, as they contain an abſolute diſavowal of the right of the parliament of Great-Britain to impoſe taxes upon her colonies, and a daring attack upon the conſtitution of this country, appear to us to require an immediate and ſerious attention; and whatever further meaſures your Majeſty may, with the advice of your council, judge proper to be taken either for expreſſing your royal diſapprobation of theſe proceedings, or for preventing the fatal conſequences which they naturally tend to produce, we think it our duty to ſubmit to your Majeſty's conſideration, whether, in the mean time, it may not be expedient to diſpatch immediate inſtructions to your Majeſty's ſervants in your Majeſty's colony of Virginia, who may be concerned in enforcing the execution of the law for levying the duty upon ſtamps, that they do each in their ſeveral department, in ſup-*

[w] See the Repreſentation of the board of trade, dated Auguſt 27, 1765.

ſupport of the authority of parliament, vigorouſly exert themſelves, and, with becoming reſolution upon every occaſion, exact a due obedience to all the laws of the land.

But even this was not the only incitement to vigour which was given to adminiſtration; a much ſtronger was to be drawn from the intelligence they received of the ſtate of that province; they ſaw from it that theſe reſolutions which aſſert an independence upon England, were meant to be not merely verbal aſſertions, but principles of action; they were accompanied by a moſt alarming deſcription which was given of the ſituation of the colony, by one of the perſons beſt acquainted with it [x]: *The moſt ſolemn treaties* (he writes) *with our Indian neighbours have been moſt publicly violated. The violators of the treaty and public peace have been as publicly rejoiced*

[x] See letter to the ſ——y of ſ—e, dated June 14, 1765, received Auguſt 8, 1765.

reſcued out of the hands of juſtice. Government is ſet at open defiance, not having ſtrength in her hands to enforce obedience to the laws of the community. But even this deſcription, alarming as it was, joined to the certain evil conſequence and great danger of delay, could not awaken the adminiſtration to the diſcharge of their duty. The letter which was written on this occaſion [y], inſtead of endeavouring to repreſs by authority this open defection in a provincial aſſembly; inſtead of encouraging the officers to the performance of their duty, inſtead of repreſenting the puniſhments due to diſobedience, takes that languid tone which muſt appear the effect of inability to maintain the empire of Great-Britain, or of a formed reſolution to ſacrifice it.

The ſ——y, in direct contradiction to the papers immediately before him, calls *the reſolutions the offſpring of the violence*

[y] See Appendix, No. 1.

violence of ſome individuals, and treats the coloniſts as diſpoſed to pay a wiſe and virtuous obedience; in tha very important and critical hour, when the eyes of all America muſt be turned on the reception which ſuch *reſolutions* as thoſe of *Virginia* ſhould meet with in England, and on the conduct which *a new miniſtry* would hold towards the colonies, to take from thence inſtructions for their future behaviour; when they were to be reſtrained within the bounds of a dutiful ſubmiſſion, or excited to reſolutions of equal violence by the fate of theſe, he takes no ſtep to check their licence, or encourage their obedience.

Intelligence had been received, that new and unconſtitutional principles were avowed by the colony of Virginia; the principles of *independence on England*, and *exemption from taxes impoſed by the Britiſh parliament*; that many outrages had been committed in that colony; and upon the whole, *that government*

was

was ſet at open defiance. Upon this intelligence it was his duty to have given immediate ſupport to government, to have aſſerted the rights of England, and to have maintained them by holding out rewards to the obedient, puniſhment to the ſeditious; by giving activity to the civil, and, if neceſſary, to the military power; eſpecially and directly to have ſent the moſt poſitive inſtructions to the officers *to exact a due obedience to the laws of the land.*

It would ſcarcely be credited, were not the facts before the public, that, after waiting from the 27th of July to the 14th of September, before he returned any reply, the reply gives the officer to whom it was written neither inſtruction nor encouragement; that it does not even contain a direction to aſſert the authority of government, which had been defied, or to exact a ſubmiſſion to the laws and legiſlature, which had been renounced; *a reſpect to parliament, a confidential reliance of the colonies on the mother-*

mother country, theſe are the ſtrongeſt expreſſions in which the ſ——y of Great-Britain claims the obedience of her ſubjects: and, leſt even theſe ſhould ſeem to countenance any exertion of authority, he takes care to diſclaim giving any direction in them; *he will not pretend to give any advice or inſtructions on theſe ſubjects*; but refers the governor to an inſtruction to be hereafter received from the *privy council*. The queſtion was, whether the colonies are independent of the acts of the legiſlature of Great-Britain? A queſtion which, after ſo many acts of parliament immediately reſpecting and binding the colonies, no ſubject of Great-Britain could lawfully bring into debate, except in one of the houſes of parliament; and concerning which *they* ſhould leaſt of all have appeared to doubt, to whom the execution of the laws had been entruſted by *the King*, and who were reſponſible to the *parliament* and *the kingdom* for the ſupport of their authority. The making this a

queſtion, and referring to a privy council for a future deciſion of that on which the legiſlature had decided already ſo frequently and ſo expreſsly, tended therefore only to inform the officer that he could not depend either on direction or ſupport from England; and that it was ſtill a doubt if the government of this kingdom would aſſert her rights. Another proof that procraſtination alone was intended, ariſes from hence; the Virginia reſolutions were received *July* 27, 1765; this important matter, which the board of trade had repreſented as requiring *immediate and ſerious attention, and the diſpatch of immediate inſtructions*; and which muſt have appeared to the miniſtry to require them, as ſoon as they were acquainted with it; inſtead of being immediately attended to, was *referred to the privy council*; but it was not even referred to them till *September* 6, 1765, and no report was made upon it till *October* 3. The report when made is, That this matter was not within the deciſion of the privy council to whom

whom it had been referred; a report made by the very miniſters who referred it to that board; and in which, from his office, the ſ——y has the lead. The words of it are theſe[z]; *This is a matter of the utmoſt importance to the kingdom and legiſlature of Great-Britain; and of too high a nature for the determination of your Majeſty in your privy council, and is proper only for the conſideration of parliament.* It was for the ſake of this deciſion that the ſ——y deferred ſo long a matter of ſo much conſequence; a deciſion which he muſt have known at the time he wrote his letter to the governor of Virginia; a fuller proof cannot be imagined that a timid and fatal delay was all that was intended; and that at the very time when he aſſured the officer that he would receive the fulleſt inſtructions from the wiſdom of the *privy council*, he knew that board would have too much wiſdom to iſſue any upon a matter of too high a

[z] See report of committee of privy council, dated October 3, 1765.

nature for their determination. I ſaid he muſt have known that deciſion when he wrote the letter; and I ſaid this, not only becauſe he probably knew what that report would be which he was to direct; but chiefly becauſe it would be indeed extraordinary if the ſ——y of ſ—e could be entirely ignorant of the powers of his own office, and of the privy council. It is not neceſſary to be of that council to know that the execution of the laws is by the conſtitution reſted in the King, and delegated by him to the officers in each department; that the privy council cannot *deliberate upon the laws*, though they can aſſiſt the execution of them; and therefore that it was impoſſible for the privy council to make any other report than that which they did make. But it was in the power of the ſ——y of ſ—e to enforce the execution of the laws, it was his duty; he was called upon to perform this duty by the importance of the object, and the expreſs repreſentations of the board of trade; and the

referring

referring it therefore to the privy council could only be meant to weaken by delay a right, which he would not support, and durſt not ſurrender.

It is lenity to the ſ——y to attribute his reference and letter to this motive; to grant that he wrote it in direct contradiction to his own knowledge; and that he intended the governor, to whom it is writ, ſhould expect as little inſtruction from the deciſion of the privy council, as he himſelf knew it would contain.

It was indeed impoſſible for him to intend or wiſh that the governor ſhould underſtand the words of the letter according to their plain and obvious ſenſe, becauſe it was impoſſible for him to wiſh that the governor ſhould think him capable of avowing principles ſo full of treaſon and of danger: for if this letter indeed meant what it expreſſes, if it was deſigned to turn the eyes of the officers of the crown from the known and permanent authority of parliament,

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to an inferior board; to teach them to look for directions for their conduct not to the laws of their country, but to the inſtructions of a privy council; he muſt be told that this principle, which attributes to the king in council the power of *diſpenſing with the laws of the land*, is the *higheſt treaſon* againſt the ſtate; that it coſt king James the ſecond his crown, and might coſt him his head.

The next advices from *America* were ſuch as might have been expected to ariſe from the negligence of the adminiſtration in Great-Britain. *A letter* addreſſed immediately to the ſecretary of ſtate informed him, that the capital of the province from whence it was written had ſhaken off all ſubjection to the laws both of trade and police, [a] *Two or three months ago*, ſays the writer of it, *I thought that this people would have ſubmitted to the ſtamp act without actual oppoſition*,

[a] See letter to the ſecretary of ſtate, dated Auguſt 15, 16, received October 14, 1765.

oppoſition. Murmurs indeed were continually heard, but they ſeemed to be ſuch as in time would die away; BUT THE PUBLISHING THE VIRGINIA RESOLUTIONS PROVED AN ALARUM BELL TO THE DISAFFECTED. *From that time an infamous weekly paper, which is printed here, has ſwarmed with libels of the moſt atrocious kind: theſe have been urged with ſo much vehemence, and ſo induſtriouſly repeated, that I have conſidered them as preludes to action; but I did not think that it would have commenced ſo early, or been carried to ſuch lengths as it has been.* Then follows an account of the particulars of the riot, and of the inſults which were offered to the officers of the revenue, merely becauſe they were officers: but theſe particulars, as they are not immediately eſſential to the preſent ſubject, and are in the higheſt degree diſgraceful to Great-Britain, are here omitted; but may be found in the letters to the ſ——y of ſ—e, dated Auguſt 15, 16, 1765, received the 14th of October:

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it is however neceſſary that the reader ſhould ſee the general ſituation of the province, as deſcribed in the ſame letter. *Every one agrees that this riot has exceeded all others known here, both in the vehemence of action and miſchievouſneſs of intention; and never had any mob ſo many abettors of conſequence as this is ſuppoſed to have had. It is ſaid there were 50 gentlemen actors in this ſcene, diſguiſed with trowſers and jackets on, beſides a much larger number behind the curtain.—The common talk is, that the ſtamp act ſhall not be executed here;—that the man who offers a ſtampt paper to ſell will immediately be killed;—that all the power of Great-Britain ſhall not oblige them to ſubmit to the ſtamp act;—that they will die upon the place.*—IN TRUTH IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO ATTEMPT TO CARRY THE ACT INTO EXECUTION UNTIL FRESH ORDERS AND POWERS ARE COME FROM ENGLAND. The ſame perſon, in a ſubſequent [b] letter adds, *I mention all theſe parti-*

[b] See letter to ſecretary of ſtate, dated Auguſt 22, received October 13, 1765.

particulars, that your lordſhip may judge yourſelf from real circumſtances; but it is my opinion, that the worſt that can happen ſhould be expected, and provided againſt.—I preſume that after this, the authority of an American government will never be left to the mercy of the people.

This violence of proceeding, and *the reſolutions of the repreſentatives of the province of Maſſachuſet's bay*, which were ſimilar to thoſe of *Virginia*, were referred to the *privy council, by the Board of Trade*, on the 1ſt and 11th of October, 1765. That board, at the ſame time, repreſented them to be *of dangerous tendency, eſpecially as connected with the ſpirit which had appeared throughout the whole conduct of this aſſembly;—and is, in truth, a daring attack upon the conſtitution of this country;—and in whatever light theſe diſturbances are viewed, whether in reſpect of the avowed object, which the perpetrators and abettors of them declare to be a general reſolution to oppoſe and prevent the execution of an act*

of the parliament of Great-Britain; or in reſpect of the ſtate of government and magiſtracy there, which ——— repreſents to be utterly incapable of reſiſting or ſuppreſſing theſe tumults and diſorders; they were of ſuch high importance, that no time was to be loſt in directing ſuch meaſures as might be moſt prudent and effectual.

Theſe repreſentations contain ſo juſt a ſtate of this important matter at that time, and of the impreſſion which the intelligence from America muſt make on all thoſe whom the moſt obſtinate prejudice had not hardened, that they are printed in the Appendix [c].

By this time the flame had begun to ſpread, and to threaten all thoſe who were concerned in the collection of any part of the revenue: one of the officers in America gave information [d], not only that

[c] See Appendix, No. 8, No. 9.

[d] See letter to board of trade, dated Auguſt 31, received about the 8th of October.

that THE PRINCIPAL PEOPLE OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON *publicly avowed and juſtified the act of demoliſhing Mr. Oliver's* (the diſtributor of ſtamps) *houſe, but that all kinds of ill humours were ſet on float; every thing that for years paſt had been the cauſe of any popular diſcontent was revived.—It ſeems the mob had ſet down no leſs than* 15 *houſes, in or near the town, to be attacked the next night;* AMONG WHICH WAS THE CUSTOM-HOUSE, AND THE HOUSES OF SOME OF THE MOST RESPECTABLE PERSONS IN THE GOVERNMENT.

A perſon immediately concerned in the collection of the cuſtoms writes thus[e]; *I conſider their fury againſt me to proceed from my capacity as an officer of the cuſtoms, and the check I am of courſe to their ſmuggling views; and from my having lately received an unpopular commiſſion relating to their riotous behaviour*

[e] See letter to ſecretary of ſtate, dated Auguſt 28, received October 21, 1765.

towards a ſhip which had been ſeized. *Thus our ſituation expoſes us to the lawleſs fury, not of a trifling mob, but of a whole country inflamed to an intolerable degree; ſubject to no rule or order, but abandoned and licentious in principle;—and without protection or ſupport, either to enable us to do our duty, or preſerve our peace in ſociety.* The ſame officer acquaints the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms [f] that, *The mob had the audacity to ſend meſſages, importing that, if we would agree to receive our fees* (for cuſtoms) *agreeable to their will and pleaſure, and would alſo deliver* the ſhips *now under proſecution, I might come on ſhore in ſafety, and rely on their protection.—The cuſtom-houſe, in conſequence of this, continued ſome days ſhut up.—I complained to the governor and a principal magiſtrate of the perſon who ſent the above terms, with a view of having him puniſhed; and the magiſtrate's warrant was returned by the ſheriff*

[f] See letter to commiſſioners of cuſtoms, dated September 5, received October 21, 1765.

riff as impoſſible to be executed under peril of his life; ſo that I conſider this as an end of the proſecution for want of government, there being here an abſolute ſuſpenſion.

Theſe tumults were not more dangerous to the government in themſelves, than to the dependence of the colonies upon Great-Britain in their conſequences, and from the principles which gave riſe to them. Care was taken to inform the adminiſtration of theſe, by tranſmitting to them thoſe anonymous papers, in which they are more openly avowed than it was poſſible for them to be in the reſolutions of any aſſembly; though the ſame turbulent and intereſted lawyers, who governed the councils of thoſe meetings, were well known to be the authors of theſe inflammatory papers.

In one of them, the Providence gazette extraordinary, Auguſt 14, 1765, we meet with theſe, among many ſimi-

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lar ſentiments and expreſſions; *You, my countrymen, already feel ſome of the effects of this horrid policy, men of war, cutters, marines with their bayonets fixed, judges of admiralty, collectors, comptrollers, ſearchers, tide-waiters, land-waiters, with a whole catalogue of pimps, ſent over, not to protect our trade, but to deſtroy it.* It is adviſed to form in a general aſſembly, votes or reſolves to the following effect; *That his Majeſty and his ſubſtitutes, together with the general aſſembly of this colony, have, in their repreſentative capacity, the only excluſive right to lay taxes and impoſts upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to veſt ſuch power in any perſon or perſons whatſoever, other than the general aſſembly aforeſaid, is unconſtitutional.—That his Majeſty's liege people the inhabitants of this colony, are not bound to yield obedience to any law or ordinance deſigned to impoſe any internal taxation whatſoever upon them, other than the laws and ordinances of the general aſſembly aforeſaid.* And to put it out of doubt

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on whoſe principles and examples theſe ſentiments were formed, the ſame paper proceeds, *We think that an addreſs of thanks ought to be voted by the general aſſembly, to thoſe gentlemen who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, in defence of liberty and the colonies; in particular to general Conway, &c.*

But the officers in America not only repreſented their diſtreſs, but the means too by which they might be relieved; they called for inſtructions from the government at home, that they might execute every part of this act; for aſſiſtance, that they might enforce it. There is ſcarcely an officer who does not complain, that he has received no inſtructions for the execution; many, that they have not even an authentic copy of the act. There is ſcarcely a governor who does not expreſs his weakneſs, and implore the ſupport of that government for the intereſts of which he acts; without, therefore, accumulating any

more intelligence received from other hands and other quarters, and which is all of the ſame kind, it is now time to examine what meaſures were taken by adminiſtration, to check, repreſs and correct tumults, which ſtruck at the very foundations of government.

It was plain, that although the ſtamp act was the pretext, the reſtrictions upon their trade, which are ſo neceſſary, and their deſire *to be* independent of England, were among the real cauſes of many of the American tumults; that impatience of all government which ſome of the coloniſts expreſſed, that oppoſition both to the former and latter cuſtom-houſe and commercial laws, which ſome even of their aſſemblies avowed, required to be immediately and effectually controuled. The neceſſity of this meaſure was not unknown to the adminiſtration; the repreſentations of the board of trade had forced it upon their attention, and they themſelves confeſſed it to be of *the utmoſt*

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importance to the kingdom and legiſlature of Great-Britain. It was indeed of importance, for it imported no leſs than the maintaining the dependence of colonies more extenſive than any nation before ever poſſeſſed; and the retaining in obedience to commercial laws, and directing the induſtry of an empire, upon whoſe conſumption of our manufactures the trade and credit of this kingdom ſo immediately depend. To ſecure theſe intereſting objects the reader expects to hear, that the moſt vigorous meaſures were planned and executed; that the ſtrength of government in that country was accurately examined, and judiciouſly diſpoſed; and that ſuch additions to this, both of a military and naval kind, were prepared, as the occaſion called for; and which being directed (if neceſſary) againſt thoſe who were moſt forward in rebellion, might, by repreſſing theſe, prevent the crime and the puniſhment of the reſt. This might have been the conduct of *ordinary* ſtateſmen, our miniſters deſpiſed ſuch ob-

vious remedies; and after much deliberation determined, that in order to check the mutinous, and correct the rebellious coloniſts, to vindicate the authority of parliament, maintain the empire of Great-Britain, and reſtore the peace of America, *Mr. ſ——y C—y ſhould write them a letter.* This ſtep which was neceſſary, and might have been effectual if taken in the beginning of theſe diſturbances, and ſupported by authority, became ridiculous when alone, and in a ſtate of ſuch extreme tumult; and reminds one of a ſimilar expedient, related in the memoirs of Madame de Nemours. *Mr. de Beaufort de ſon côtè, qui n'en faiſoit pas moins que le coadjuteur* (pour s'oppoſer a cette paix) *et qui cherchoit tous les moyens imaginables de l'empêcher, crut en avoir trouvé un infaillible, qu'il propoſa à Mr. de Belliévre, en lui demandant par maniere d'avis, ſi en donnant un ſouflet à Mr. d' Elbeuf, il ne changeroit point la face des affaires: à quoi Mr. de Belliévre répondit d'un ſang froid plus digne de ſa gravité*

gravité que de la queſtion, qu'il ne croyoit pas que cela pût changer autre choſe que la face de Mr. d'Elbeuf.

But as this was the only ſtep which they propoſed to take, why was it ſo long delayed? The moſt alarming informations had been received by them ſo long ago as the 27th of July; they could ſcarcely be ignorant that, in popular tumults, an immediate execution of authority is required, and that delay gives to them confidence and ſtrength: in this exigence therefore no degree of delay can be vindicated, even the f——y does not attempt to vindicate, he diſowns it: he aſſerted in public, what he has written in his letter [g] of the 15th of December, 1765, that his inſtructions (dated the 24th of October, 1765) *were ſent on the firſt notice of theſe diſturbances*; and yet it is proved by his own evidence, that on the 27th of July, 1765, that is at three months diſtance

g See Appendix, No. 5.

from that time, he had received the *Virginia reſolutions*, that *daring attack upon the conſtitution of this country*, and intelligence that *government was ſet at open defiance, not having ſtrength in her hands to enforce obedience to the laws of the community*.

But I have done with the delay, and the denial of it; this delay had at leaſt given him time to form a plan of action, which ſhould be extenſive and effectual when he ſhould begin to operate; he had had leiſure to conſider the particular ſtate of every province, and to compare the diſorders which were complained of, with the reſources which were to be found, and might be applied in each. In fact, there was great reaſon for an attention of this kind, for the provinces were known to be in very different ſituations; in ſome the mob appeared alone in the riots, while thoſe who had any thing to riſque in the conteſt, contented themſelves with giving to them concealed encouragement; in others, the

principal people of the town avowed the utmoſt violences; in one they had not yet *declared* their reſolution of freeing themſelves from all cuſtom-houſe laws, though they had marked the cuſtom-houſe for deſtruction; in another they already refuſed to pay any cuſtoms but ſuch as they themſelves ſhould regulate the payment of: the riots at Boſton were very different in their nature and purpoſes from thoſe which had ſhaken Rhode-iſland; the Virginia reſolutions had been, and were *the alarum-bell to the diſaffected*, calling them to tumult and outrage; while the plan of a general aſſembly of committees, which had proceeded from Maſſachuſet's-bay, diſcovered more of a regular ſyſtem of reſiſtance. The reſources too were as different as the difficulties; they were to be drawn from the particular conſtitution and ſtrength of each government, the temper of the people, the neighbourhood of the military force, and a thouſand other circumſtances, of which the ſ——y was informed.

The

The public will judge of the ability ſhewn by him in adapting the inſtructions and aſſiſtances to the particular ſituation of each province, when they find that [h] *the letter to every governor on the continent and in the iſlands*, excepting one, *is exactly the ſame*; and that this ſame letter, like *Jack's parchment in the tale of a tub*, ſerves too, by the alteration of a very few ſentences, for [i] *military orders to the commander in chief of the Britiſh forces in America*. It was not poſſible that diſorders ſo various and ſo violent could be remedied by one application; and the preſcribing for diſtempers ſo very different the ſame inſipid potion of warm water, is a practice of which our ſtate *Sangrado's* alone were capable. In the letter [k] to the governor of Maſſachuſet's-bay there is indeed ſome difference; the reader, who is informed that the project of a general combination of America took its

[h] See Appendix, No. 4. [i] See Appendix, No. 2.
[k] See Appendix, No. 3.

its riſe in that province, immediately ſuppoſes that in this ſeparate diſpatch ſome ſpecial inſtructions are given to prevent, diſſipate, or elude the operations of this meeting; it is neceſſary to read this letter, to be convinced that in it no notice whatever is taken of the unprecedented, unconſtitutional and dangerous deſign.

They had, at the time when this letter was written, received the fulleſt and moſt authentic intelligence, that ſome of the ſubjects of England had refuſed obedience to an act of the legiſlature; and forced the officers to whom the execution of it in America was entruſted, to reſign their poſts. To be perfectly acquainted with the means uſed for the attainment of this end; to judge of the temper of the colonies, and of the ſtate of government in them, ſee Appendix, No. 12. The ſtate of the matter is ſo exactly deſcribed, in a letter addreſſed to Mr. *C——y*, that it is here referred to, though it was not received

ceived till four days after *the date* of his diſpatch; becauſe it might, and ought to have been ſeen by adminiſtration, in the ſame light in which it was by the writer of this letter. It appears from thence [1] that *the general ſcheme concerted throughout America was, firſt by menace, or force, to oblige the ſtamp-officers to reſign their employments, in which they had generally ſucceeded; and next to deſtroy the ſtamp-papers upon their arrival; that, having no ſtamps, neceſſity might be an excuſe for the diſpatch of buſineſs without them; and that before they could be replaced, the clamour and outcry of the people, with addreſſes and remonſtrances from the aſſemblies, might procure a repeal of the act.*

It was no part of the queſtion, whether the miniſtry for the time being approved of the principles and purpoſes of that act or not. The power of judging whether or no an act of parliament ſhall

[1] See Appendix, No. 10.

ſhall be carried into execution, is not by the conſtitution entruſted to any miniſtry. THE BILL OF RIGHTS, as it was drawn on account of this power uſurped by the crown, ſo it is moſt expreſs againſt the exertion of it. The patriots of that age had felt the extenſive effects of this diſpenſing power; and had ſeen it bring their religion and liberties into the moſt imminent danger; to prevent therefore the poſſibilty of any future miniſters being ſo much warped from their duty as to ſuſpend the execution of the law, THE BILL OF RIGHTS declares, that *this pretended power of ſuſpending of laws, or the execution of laws by regal authority, without the conſent of parliament, is illegal.*

But be it that they had a right to ſuſpend the execution of this law, becauſe they did not approve it; they were apprized, that there had ariſen in America a ſpirit of oppoſition to the whole ſyſtem of cuſtom-houſe laws, an impatience of thoſe ties, which even

the moſt partial to the claims of the colonies muſt confeſs to be neceſſary for the common good; that *the merchants* [m] *there think they have a right to every freedom of trade, which the ſubjects of Great-Britain now enjoy:* a freedom which would render the colonies not only of no benefit, but in the higheſt degree prejudicial to the commerce and welfare of their mother-country. This opinion, and they did not content themſelves with the bare opinion, made it neceſſary to ſecure the collection, not of a new and internal, but of old external duties, which had ever been ſubmitted to, and conſtantly though imperfectly collected; and to eſtabliſh the great act of navigation; which was the effect of wiſe and extenſive policy, gave the deepeſt wound to the trade and power of Holland, and acquired to England the maritime empire of Europe.

But

[m] See letter to Mr. C——y, dated November 7, 1765.

But be it, that the laws of the cuſtoms too were to be diſpenſed with; granting that they were all repealed by that voice, and at that moment when it was declared, that *the ſalvation of Great-Britain depended on a total repeal of all cuſtom-houſe laws, and the univerſal extenſion of the laws of exciſe*, and therefore that it was no part of the duty of adminiſtration to enforce the execution of them; ſtill there remained the ſtrongeſt reaſons for a ſpeedy and vigorous interpoſition: the Engliſh government in America was *weak, precarious, unable to ſecure the execution of the common laws of peace and good order, inſulted, defied.* Theſe diſorders, ſo diſgraceful in themſelves, ſo dangerous in their conſequences, required to be immediately and effectually controlled; and would have been controlled by any miniſters but thoſe *quibus patriæ ſalus & dignitas poſterior ſuâ dominatione & domeſticis commodus fuit.*

The ſtamp-act was avowedly rejected, the cuſtom-houſe laws openly violated,

lated, the officers menaced, inſulted and ſpoiled, the offenders unpuniſhed, and government diſſolved. Read now the diſpatch of the 24th of October [n], which was to contain the ſ——y's fulleſt inſtructions; you will not find in it any inſtructions whatever; *at this diſtance he does not think it poſſible to give poſitive inſtructions* to the officers, not even inſtructions to obey and to enforce the laws of their country. This duty, which ſhould have been the firſt object of his care and directions is entirely omitted; the utmoſt vigour which he recommends riſes no higher than to *repell acts of outrage*, not to puniſh them, or to maintain and execute the laws of England. But even this degree of exertion is not to be reſorted to till the laſt extremity; *lenient and perſwaſive methods, the utmoſt lenity*, theſe are the arms which he directs the governors and the commander in chief to oppoſe to the revolt which he ſaw ſo univerſal.

He

[n] See Appendix, No. 4.

He had been repeatedly informed that the ſchemes of independence were formed *and guided by the lawyers, and ſupported by the principals of the provinces*°; but as this encreaſed the danger of the inſurrections, and the neceſſity of an interpoſition, he contradicts without heſitation the intelligence in his hands, and *hopes and expects* (which words if they can mean any thing as applied to a thing paſt muſt mean *believes) that this reſiſtance to the authority of the mother-country, can only have found place among the lower and more ignorant of the People.* Inſtead of

° To the other proofs of this add the following extract of a letter to Mr. C——y, dated December, 21, 1765, and therefore ſubſequent to his letter.

The lawyers are the ſource from whence the clamours have flowed in every province. In this province nothing publick is tranſacted without them, and it is to be wiſhed that even the bench was free from blame. The whole body of merchants in general, aſſembly-men, magiſtrates, &c. have been united in this plan of riots, and without the influence and inſtigation of theſe, the inferior people would have been quiet: very great pains were taken to rouze them before they ſtirred.

See too a curious paper in Appendix, No. 11.

of that tone of authority which alone can enforce obedience of thoſe orders and directions which the dangerous ſituation of America, and the requeſts of the officers there called for, the whole tenor of his letters is languor and debility; it is true that ſuch vague and general expreſſions are uſed, as leave the writer at liberty to own or to diſavow the meaſures which ſhall be perſued after the receipt of the letter; to divide with or take from the officers to whom it was addreſſed, the reputation of their ſucceſs; or to turn on them alone the odium of a miſcarriage; and ſuch qualifying words intermixed, as by a cautious hand are ever uſed to prevent if poſſible any parliamentary danger; but it is impoſſible to read it without ſeeing that the intent is rather to check, than to excite the ardour of the officers of the crown; not to quell the riots of which he ſaw the tendency, but to elude any operations which might diſcourage thoſe diſturbances by which he meant to profit. If this purpoſe was leſs evident than

than it is in his diſpatches, it is put out of doubt by the declaration which the ſame officer is ſaid [p] to have made, *that he would ſooner cut off his right-hand than order troops to march to ſuppreſs this claim of freedom.* His letter is perfectly conſiſtent with his declaration; and tho' we lament that his conduct has loſt to Great-Britain the hands of all the inhabitants of America, yet we muſt acknowledge that the right-hand of that right honourable Gentleman is perfectly ſafe.

To be convinced of the evil effects which theſe his diſſertations upon prudence and levity muſt have had in the midſt of ſo much tumult, let us ſuppoſe for a moment that the procraſtinating ſ——y had ſtill procraſtinated; even his delay or his neglect would have been leſs pernicious to his country than diſpatches of ſo much *Caution.* The officers in America might ſtill have hoped

[p] This is expreſt doubtfully, becauſe the authority is doubtful.

hoped, that their obedience to the laws of England, amidſt the general contempt of them, would be eſteemed a ſervice, and receive encouragement and ſupport; they might have continued to encourage the loyal, and to check the violence of the rebellious, by turning the eyes of both towards *Great Britain*, who would reward her friends, chaſtiſe her foes, and vindicate her juſt authority. The arrival of the pacquet deprived them even of this reſource: They ſaw the miniſters in England either too timid to enforce the law, or determined to ſuſpend and repeal it; and they ſaw therefore the folly of expoſing themſelves to the fury of an enraged people, in ſupport of an act which the adminiſtration did not intend to execute. If theſe obvious reflexions did not immediately occur to the officers themſelves, they were however ſoon ſuggeſted to them by the oppoſers of the act; for the Americans ſaw this conduct in its true light; in that in which the ſ——y muſt have wiſhed them to ſee it: They had formed hopes

of

of it as ſoon as they were informed of his promotion; they expreſs them thus[9], *it may be worth the ſerious conſideration of thoſe who would officiouſly endeavour to enſlave their countrymen, to enforce it (the ſtamp-act) whether they will not be more likely to receive the frowns, than the ſmiles of their ſuperiors, for their activity in ſo odious an office.*

When therefore the diſobedient ſaw theſe expectations anſwered by the ſ——y's diſpatch, they, who had no reſtraint upon them but the fear of Engliſh diſpleaſure, were convinced too by theſe letters that they might offend with impunity; when they ſaw a total annihilation of government ſubmitted to, and an avowed and violent reſiſtance to the Engliſh parliament calling forth the *utmoſt lenity*, they perceived that the miniſtry, though they did not yet venture to avow, did however approve their proceedings; that they had nothing to fear from their diſpleaſure, or

[9] See Conſtitutional Courant, No. 1.

from their orders, without which no American officer would take any decisive ſtep; and they received from hence that kind and that degree of encouragement which nothing elſe could have given to them.

The intentions of the miniſtry are proved, not only by the ſteps which they did take, but alſo from their neglect of thoſe which they ought to have taken. It is not always juſt to argue a criminality of this kind from an omiſſion, but it is impoſſible not to deduce it in this caſe; becauſe the omiſſion was that of a ſtep which the importance of the object, the requiſitions of the American officers, and the repreſentations of the Board of Trade had ſhewn them to be neceſſary, and which they had confeſſed to be ſo *in their own report*.

To be convinced of this, let us ſuppoſe that every thing hitherto had been well conducted; let us grant, that on the 14th of September the ſ——y could

not

not even gueſs what he ſhould determine on the 3d of October, concerning a matter, on which he had had the time paſſed ſince the 27th of July to meditate; and therefore that he acted with all poſſible vigour as well as caution, when, after an interval of more than ſix weeks, he referred the officers in America to a future deciſion of the privy council for their inſtructions; let us imagine too, that till the 3d of October he thought ſo lightly of the privy council, as to expect that they would decide on a matter too high for their deliberation; and that he did not know that it was neither his nor their province to debate upon the propriety of laws, but that it was his duty to addreſs himſelf to the execution of them. At leaſt, by the *report* of the privy council made on that day, his uncertainties muſt have been removed; they were removed; he himſelf joins at leaſt in that report which declares that, *this matter is proper only for the conſideration of parliament*. There never had ariſen a point

which, from its importance both in itſelf and in its conſequences, called more loudly for the intervention of that aſſembly: the ſupport which might be claimed from near two millions of people was to be determined by it; and the queſtion whether Great-Britain has a right to the obedience of her colonies, was involved in the deciſion.

This report had been made on the 3d of October; by the 8th of that month the adminiſtration had authentic and particular intelligence, that the principles of reſiſtance and independence, which had been unchecked, had produced their natural conſequences, tumult and rebellion. What now does the reader expect from a miniſtry, which doubtful in itſelf, and looking round for direction, had not hitherto been able to receive any, but that they ſhould immediately have had recourſe to that council for which no matter is too high; from which the repeal of every law found inexpedient is to take its riſe, the

authority

authority of which would ſecure obedience to it till the propriety of the repeal had been conſidered, and to which the repreſentation of the Board of Trade and *their own report* referred them? The great council of the kingdom? He expects to ſee a proclamation, dated on the 9th of October, which would have aſſembled the parliament by the latter end of November. An immediate call of the ſenate was the more neceſſary, becauſe it was reaſonable to expect that the diſcuſſion of ſo important a ſubject would employ ſome time; the adminiſtration *could not be aſſured* that the parliament, which had been almoſt unanimous in approving the principles, and enacting the clauſes of the ſtamp-act, would immediately and without heſitation conſent to the repeal of it. The fact is, that ſixteen days after the receipt of this intelligence, the miniſtry, in ſpite of the call from the diſtreſs of a whole continent, from their own neglect, from their own acknowledgments, adviſed the k—g to prorogue the parliament;

liament; it was prorogued on the 24th of October, and on the very ſame day on which they betrayed the empire of Great-Britain, by the timid duplicity of the inſtructions ſent abroad, they deprived her too of the aſſiſtance which might have been received from more vigorous counſels at home.

A conduct which can be accounted for only by one motive; they had reſolved from ſpleen, faction, jealouſy, or reſentment to repeal an act, the ſucceſs and good effects of which would ſtill have encreaſed the reputation of the miniſter who planned it; they feared that the authority and the wiſdom of parliament would be able even yet to check the rebellion of the provinces, and enforce the law; they wiſhed this rebellion ſhould gain ſtrength, that they might apply to the fears of thoſe, whoſe reaſon they could not hope to convince; they ſacrificed to theſe views the permanent intereſts and honour of the ſtate, and encouraged by their connivance,

and

and by the prorogation of the parliament, that reſiſtance and thoſe tumults, which they meant to apply to their own factious purpoſes.

Unhappily for the public, theſe deſigns were but too ſucceſsful; the riots in America became more general, and more dangerous: it will appear by the intelligence ſubſequent to this period, of which I ſhall now ſtate ſome part, as nearly as may be, in the order of time in which it is dated, that even their wiſhes could not form a ſcene of greater anarchy than their conduct had produced in America; that they were informed very minutely of a total diſſolution of every part of government, and that although the ſtamp-act was the pretext, yet the cauſes and the objects of their reſentment were alſo the reſtraints on their trade, and their ſubjection to Great-Britain: theſe were really felt, while the ſtamp-act, which was formed to execute itſelf, which affected ſcarcely any but thoſe of whoſe ability the very

payment

payment was a proof, which was confeſſed by the Americans to be the moſt eligible of all the taxes which could be impoſed, and which, as it had not been executed, could not yet have been oppreſſive, was only the occaſion of theſe inſurrections.

This opportunity was taken (ſays the writer of a letter from America) *to ſhew their reſentment to every officer under the crown; and particularly to the officers of the cuſtoms in this port; with whom they had been and ſtill continue to be much diſpleaſed, for their vigilance in putting the acts of trade in force, and endeavouring to prevent abuſes of the ſame.* A letter to the ſ——y has this paſſage[r]; *The country has grown more and more enflamed; every where have been heard loud declarations that they would not ſubmit to the ſtamp-act upon any account,*

[r] See letter to commiſſioners of cuſtoms, dated September 7, 1765.

[s] See letter to Mr. Conway, dated Sepember 28, 1765, received November 4.

count, or in any inſtance.—I obſerved that the violences of the mob had intimidated ſome of the beſt people in the province, and left the cauſe of the king and parliament almoſt without an advocate.

It is apparent, from their proceedings [†]*, that there is among them an intention and an expectation of improving the preſent ill humour of the people into an actual breach with Great-Britain; or at leaſt of gaining ſuch a triumph over Great-Britain, by obliging her to repeal this law under an actual reſiſtance of it, as to make her authority contemptible hereafter.*

The ſteps they took for this purpoſe, in one of the provinces, were theſe; [‡] *One and all cried out, let us ſee who will dare put the act in execution, upon the governor's appointment; we will take care of that.*

[†] See letter to Mr. Pownall, dated October 1, 1765.

[‡] See letter to the commiſſioners of ſtamps dated October 12, 1765.

In another government this paper was paſted up at the door of every public office, and at the corners of the ſtreets;

Pro Patriâ.

The firſt man that either diſtributes, or makes uſe of ſtamped paper, let him take care of his houſe, perſon and effects.

We dare. *Vox Populi.*

I ſhall conclude (ſays an intelligent writer [w]) *with the following obſervation, that if Great-Britain can or will ſuffer ſuch conduct in her colonies to paſs unpuniſhed, a man need not be a prophet, or the ſon of a prophet, to ſee clearly, that her empire in North-America is at an end.*

But whether his Majeſty [x] *and his miniſters can or will wink at and overlook theſe inſults and outrages, and permit their coloniſts*

[w] See letter to commiſſioners of ſtamps, dated October 12, 1765.

[x] See letter to commiſſioners of ſtamps, dated November 2, 1765.

coloniſts to refuſe obedience to an act of parliament, and alſo to declare it illegal and unconſtitutional, the writer does not determine.

Britain (ſays the ſame correſpondent, in the ſame letter) *muſt firſt determine, whether ſhe is to govern or not; and whether ſhe will permit us to put ourſelves under the protection of France or Spain; as many upon the continent declare they will ward off the ſtamp-act until they can get France or Spain to protect them.—The iſſue of this act will abſolutely determine Britain's ſovereignty in America; for if by theſe rebellious methods we can get this act repealed, I doubt not but ſome of my children will live to ſee a duty laid by the Americans on ſome things imported from Great-Britain.*

A perſon very well informed, and very capable of judging, writes thus; [y] *You may imagine that the popular party*

[y] See a letter to the lords of trade, dated November 30, 1765.

is greatly elated with this acceſſion of ſtrength, founded upon the ruins of the power of government. Some of them talk of it with an indiſcretion that is amazing, as if this town was to remain for ever independent of the king's government. One ſays, there has not been enough done; there wants more correction: another ſays, let us ſee now who will ſeize merchants goods; what judge will condemn them; what court will dare to grant writs of aſſiſtance now. Others talk as familiarly of turning out the governor, for adhering to the king and parliament, as they could do at Rhode-iſland or Connecticut.

The [z] *leaders or conductors of the mob had offered to take any kind of goods, liable to ſeizure, under their protection; and bid defiance to the officers of the cuſtoms.*

They [a] *had ſurrounded the cuſtom-houſe, and demanded the perſons of the collector and comptroller.*

The

[z] See letter to commiſſioners of cuſtoms, dated September 7, 1765.

[a] See advertiſement, dated September 2, 1765.

The riot raiſed on the 1ſt of November, in New-York, was ſo unprovoked, and, in its conſequences, ſo dangerous a defiance and attack on government, that the account which was publiſhed of it by themſelves is printed in the Appendix. See Appendix, No. 13.

In this riot the lieutenant-governor had been abuſed, inſulted, and plundered; and major James, after ſuffering the ſame violences, had been obliged to withdraw himſelf from their fury, by taking refuge on board a ſhip, and to leave a country, in which [b] *no objection could be made to him, but his daring to put the king's fort into a ſtate of defence againſt the ſovereign lords the people, as they ſtyled themſelves; and for which offence they reſolved to make him an example of their diſpleaſure.*

But (ſays a correſpondent, [c] ſpeaking of a recent riot) *it was deſigned as an inſult*

[b] See letter to Mr. C——y, dated December 13, 1765.

[c] See letter to Mr. C——y, dated December 18, 1765.

inſult upon the king's authority, as a terror to the king's officers, and to ſhew that they were nothing in the eyes or the hands of the people.

[d] *The ſtate and anarchy and confuſion we are now in* (ſays a writer well qualified to judge) *is beyond deſcription; every thing being under the power of the people, who undertake to govern in all caſes, and regulate all public affairs.*—I BELIEVE THEY THINK THE MOST EFFECTUAL WAY TO GET THE ACT REPEALED, IS TO INSULT THE AUTHORITY THAT MADE IT.

Alarming and rebellious as this conduct appears, the danger of it, and the importance of checking it, was ſtill increaſed by the principles which produced and accompanied it: theſe may be found in the popular publications in America, with regard to Great-Britain, which is deſcribed in one of them [e] as

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[d] See letter to commiſſioners of ſtamps, dated December 3, 1765.

[e] Providence Gazette, Auguſt 24, 1765.

a mother-country, who, in their ſtupidity, have judged it criminal for us to become our own manufacturers.

Theſe are ſome of the political principles which they contained and diſperſed[f]. *The public faith of the nation, in which till now we thought we might ſecurely confide, is violated, and we robbed of our deareſt rights, by the late law erecting a ſtamp-office among us.—Let us boldly deny all ſuch uſurped juriſdiction* (it is the juriſdiction of the Britiſh parliament of which he ſpeaks) *we owe them no more ſubjection, in this reſpect, than the Divan of Conſtantinople.—The true lovers of liberty, who deteſt and abhor the ſtamp-act from principle, and a certain knowledge of their rights violated by that act.—An act illegally obtruded upon us to deprive us of our moſt ſacred rights, and change our freedom to ſlavery, by a legiſlature who has no lawful authority over us.—But how came the Engliſh parliament by ſuch a right over us?—Their*

power

[f] Conſtitutional Courant, No. 1.

power (with regard to liberty and property) *is purely local.—Heaven defend us from ſuch repreſentatives.—They have taken upon them to deprive us of our rights, which are not under their juriſdiction.*

Theſe and the like principles, which were conſtantly publiſhed [g] *to ſerve the purpoſe of exciting the people to diſobedience of the laws, and to ſedition,* were not the productions *of the lower and more ignorant of the people,* but, as a perſon, who knew the characters of the men, informed Mr. C——y, [h] *ſome of the moſt popular lawyers are the authors of theſe ſeditious papers; and have been countenanced by ſome of the judges, and others of the higheſt truſt in the government.*

Indeed the influence and ſupport of the writers was ſo extenſive, that the council

[g] See letter to Mr. C——y, dated September 23, 1765. received October 28.

[h] See the ſame letter.

council of the province agreed [i] *That it was not a proper time to profecute the printers and publiſhers of theſe ſeditious papers; the Attorney General likewiſe not thinking himſelf ſafe to commence any ſuch profecution.*

But theſe principles were not confined to particular perſons, the general aſſembly of Maſſachuſet's-bay had actually prepared a bill enacting, [k] *That it ſhall and may be lawful to do buſineſs without ſtamps, the act of parliament to the contrary notwithſtanding.*

The people of Connecticut, (ſays a correſpondent [l] of Mr. C——y's) *who are embodied in form, have declared publicly, that all power is from the people; that it is granted with certain bounds, that if thoſe bounds are exceeded, power devolves to*

 the

[i] See letter to Mr. C—y, dated September 23, 1765. received October 28.

[k] See letter to Mr. Pownall, dated October 26, 1765.

[l] See letter to Mr. C----y, dated December 19, 1765.

the people; that where there is no other redreſs, as in the ſtamp-act, the people ſhould reſume their power; therefore they recommend, with threats againſt diſobedience, that the public officers ſhould proceed in their buſineſs without ſtamps: this is a formal reſumption of government by the people.

The aſſembly of New Jerſey reſolved, nem. con. [m] *That all ſupplies being free gifts; for the people of Great-Britain to grant to his Majeſty the property of the people of this colony, without their own conſent, and being repreſented, would be unreaſonable; and render uſeleſs legiſlation in this colony in the moſt eſſential point.*

Among the votes of the aſſembly of New York ſtands the following; [n] *Reſolved, nem. con. That it involves the greateſt*

[m] See extract from Votes of Aſſembly of New Jerſey, November 30, 1765.

[n] See extract from Votes of Aſſembly of New York.

greateſt inconſiſtency with the known principles of the Engliſh conſtitution, to ſuppoſe that the honourable Houſe of Commons of Great-Britain, can, without diveſting the inhabitants of this colony of their moſt eſſential rights, grant to the crown, their, or any part of their eſtates, for any purpoſe whatſoever.

Each of theſe reſolutions were accompanied by others of the ſame nature and tendency, which were deſigned to eſtabliſh the claim of an abſolute independence on the Britiſh parliament. That the reader may be enabled to judge of the ſpirit and purpoſe of them, thoſe of Philadelphia are printed more at length in the Appendix. See Appendix, No. 14.

It was to enable them to maintain this independence, that an unprecedented, illegal and dangerous meeting of committees from all the provinces was aſſembled at New York, to enable them, in their own expreſſion, to become *a*

bundle of ſticks, which can neither be bent nor broken. Other pretences were given to this aſſembly, but its tendency, and the ſpirit of thoſe who compoſed it, are thus deſcribed by a very judicious hand; ° *They are of various characters and opinions, but it is to be feared, in general, that the ſpirit of Democracy is ſtrong among them. The queſtion is not of the inexpediency of the ſtamp-act; or of the inability of the colonies to pay the tax; but that it is unconſtitutional, and contrary to their rights; ſupporting the independency of the provinces; and not to be ſubject to the legiſlative power of Great-Britain.*

There was no ſtep which required more the interpoſition of government than this: if the other inſtances of their ſeditious temper might be called ſudden tumults, which built on no premeditated deſign, and directed only to temporary purpoſes, might ceaſe with the preſent

° See letter to Mr. C-----y, dated November 12, 1765.

preſent frenzy, and leave their traces only in the devaſtation they had committed; this was more hoſtile in its appearance, implied more of a deep and dangerous ſpirit of determined revolt, and by the very precedent left the moſt alarming conſequences: and yet although the nature, deſign, and conſequences of this meeting, were repeatedly and by various hands pointed out to them, the adminiſtration obſerved, during this whole proceeding, a total ſilence; and left the Americans unreſtrained to form a general congreſs, which, bearing the appearance of a national, as the ſeveral aſſemblies bore of a provincial repreſentative, might turn the eyes, affections and reſpects of the coloniſts from the legiſlature of Great-Britain to this American parliament.

Even the laſt ſtep of formed and avowed rebellion was ventured on by them; that of raiſing a regular body of forces to be oppoſed to thoſe which England might employ.

In

In this town (ſays a [p] perſon on the ſpot) *all power is in the hands of the people; out of which, under pretence of uniting two parties in the town, are formed two companies, under two profeſt captains; who are ſaid to be able to muſter* 400 *men on a ſhort warning. Two or three gentlemen of fortune profeſs to have the command of theſe bands, and it is hoped they have; as the governor* (whoſe authority could not command ten men) *and every other officer of the crown lie at their mercy.*

Ten days, or more, (ſays the writer [q] of a very circumſtantial account of this dangerous confederacy) *before the laſt 5th of November, two gentlemen, called the richeſt merchants in this town, entertained the principal men of theſe parties, and reconciled them to one another, for other purpoſes I fear than burning a pope.*

—*Thus*

[p] See letter to the lords of trade, dated November 30, 1765.

[q] See letter to the lords of trade, dated November 26, 1765.

—Thus was celebrated the union between these two bands, who (at a time when the militia have refuſed to obey the captain general, and it has been ſaid publicly, at a town-meeting, that they were not obliged to obey him) are ſaid to be well trained, and ready to obey orders upon proper occaſions.

Such was the ſtate of government in the American provinces;

If ſhape it might be called, which ſhape had none
Diſtinguiſhable in member, joint or limb;
Or ſubſtance might be called that ſhadow ſeemed;

An exigence in which the fulleſt and moſt particular inſtructions, and the warmeſt encouragements, were neceſſary to direct and aſſiſt the officers in the performance of their duty: an aſſiſtance and encouragement towards which they were ever turning their eyes and hopes, and ever in vain. For with regard to the execution of the particular act in queſtion, the miniſtry ſo little intended

intended it, that they did not even ſend the common directions for that purpoſe; or even copies of the act.

The complaints of this neglect are very numerous, and from different quarters. *I encloſe herewith* (ſays an officer [r]) *a certificate of my having taken the oath required by the ſtamp-act; which I framed from a copy of the act printed here; there being not one authentic act here; there never were but two; and thoſe ſent under private covers. It is ſtrange ——s ſhould not have thoſe acts ſent them by which they are liable to penalties.*

I beg leave to repreſent to your lordſhips (ſays another [s]) *that I was left to myſelf, without any inſtructions or directions from your right honourable board, to guide me through this wilderneſs. Your lordſhips*

[r] See letter to Mr. Pownall, dated October 26, 1765.

[s] See letter to lords of trade, dated November 3, 1765.

lordſhips will, I hope, forgive me for ſaying, that I even had not the common notice of there being ſuch an act, as it has never been ſent to me.

I am, my lords, (theſe are the words of a third [t]) *under great difficulties, with reſpect to the ſtamp-act; not having to this day received the act of parliament, or one ſcrape of a pen about it; nor is any ſtamp-paper or officer yet arrived here.* (This was eight days after the day fixed for the commencement of the act) *I fear, my lords, there has been an omiſſion ſomewhere relative to this matter, which embarraſſes me greatly.*

And, to omit ſeveral others of the ſame kind, even ſo late as the 13th of November a correſpondent [u] writes thus to the Board of Trade: *We are indeed particularly circumſtanced in this province*

 with

[t] See letter to the lords of trade, dated November 9, 1765.

[u] See letter to the lords of trade, dated November 13, 1765.

with regard to the ſtamp-act; for even if there was no oppoſition given to it, it could not be put in force, as no commiſſion or inſtructions for the purpoſe are yet come to hand, if ſent from England; and without them the perſon nominated diſtributor of ſtamps could not be qualified to execute the office, were he ſo inclined.

But bare official inſtructions were not the only ones which the occaſions and the applications of the officers demanded; they had hoped, they ſtill hoped to receive the ſupport and authority, which England alone could give them; and which was thought as neceſſary to preſerve the peace of the provinces, as the dominion of Great-Britain. *Some of the principal ringleaders in the late riots* (ſays a correſpondent[w]) *walk the ſtreets with impunity; no officer dares attack them, no attorney-general proſecute them, no witneſs appear againſt them, and no judge ſit upon them; ſo it muſt remain*

[w] See letter to board of trade, dated December 17, 1765.

remain until other orders than this government can give ſhall be taken.

By this you may gueſs (writes a perſon [x] of unſhaken loyalty to England) *what a ſtate this government is in; and it is not likely to mend, 'till the power and authority of Great-Britain comes to our relief. For this I can quote a great politician of this town, who is now at New-York, attending the congreſs there. This gentleman* (it is Mr. Otis of whom he ſpeaks) *has, I believe, contributed more than any one man whatever to bring us into the ſtate of outlawry and confuſion we are now in, and now begins to be frightened at it: before he left this town, for New-York, he ſaid to a gentleman, if the government at home don't very ſoon ſend forces to keep the province, they will be cutting one anothers throats from one end to the other of it.*

x See letter to Mr. Pownall, dated October 19, 1765.

Nothing can be done here to enforce obedience to this act, (ſays a correſpondent [y] on this ſubject) *and nothing leſs than the wiſdom of parliament can provide a remedy for this act of diſobedience. The militia is all the force the reſpective governors on the continent depend on, upon all emergencies; and experience has ſhewn, how vain and fruitleſs it is to beat to arms, when neither officers or men will or dare appear.*

It is not ſurpriſing that the adminiſtration did not pay more regard to theſe and the like complaints, of which the letters to them are full, than they had done to the other requiſitions on the ſame ſubject. They, who would not aſſiſt their diſtreſt and meritorious officers even with inſtructions, could not be expected to ſend the more material ſupport of forces. It is true, that an order of the privy-council was made [z], directing

[y] See letter to lords of trade, dated October 5, 1765.

[z] See Order of council, dated St. James's, October 23, 1765.

directing, *That orders ſhould be given to the commanders of the land and ſea forces in America, for their concurrence and aſſiſtance in ſuppreſſing riots, when called upon by the governors for that purpoſe:* and it is equally true, that the lords of the treaſury ordered a circular letter to be written to the governors, directing them to aſſiſt in the collection of the ſtamp-duty, and to ſee that the revenue received no damage: an inſtruction exactly equal in efficacy with that exhortation, which the inquiſitors give with ſo much charity to the civil magiſtrate, to take care of the unhappy victim, whom they have themſelves devoted and doomed to deſtruction. It is impoſſible to read the ſ——y's letter of the 24th of October (ſee Appendix, No. 4.) and not be ſenſible, that the governors muſt have ſeen it was the intention of the miniſtry that force ſhould not be employed; and that they muſt expect therefore to anſwer in their own perſons for every fatal, though accidental conſequence, which might attend the employ-

employing it: under theſe circumſtances there was danger that the governors ſhould call upon the commanders for an aſſiſtance to their efforts, the ſucceſs of which gave them nothing to hope, while the miſcarriage left them every thing to fear.

The adminiſtration had, however, a ſtill ſtronger ſecurity that *the occurrences* in America ſhould not be interrupted by force. They thought that, on that continent a number of men, equal to the exigence, could not be aſſembled; and they determined that no more ſhould be ſent thither. Of the former of theſe points the ſ——y had been informed authentically, as he choſe to think, by the commander in chief of his Majeſty's forces in America; this appears by the anſwer which he returns to that officer; [a] *eſpecially conſidering what you ſay of the difficulty, or rather impoſſibility of drawing any conſiderable number*

[a] See Appendix, No. 5.

number of men together; and of the impracticability of attempting any thing by force, in the preſent diſpoſition of the people, without a reſpectable body of troops.

It will perhaps appear, by a peruſal of thoſe letters from the commander in chief, which are to be found in the collection of papers made on this occaſion, that of the *impoſſibility* of drawing a conſiderable number of men together he ſays nothing: he ſays the forces are greatly ſcattered and divided over that vaſt continent, that a junction might be prevented by the froſt, &c. but a miniſter who had wiſhed to act with vigour, might have given orders to act if the junction could be made; and if theſe orders had been given, they had been executed; for a ſubſequent letter [b] informed the ſ——y, that 300 men, which in that country is a reſpectable body of troops, could be brought to act

[b] See letter to Mr. C----y, dated December 21, 1765.

act whenever the governors ſhould require them.

But if the ſ——y really underſtood general Gage as ſtating an impoſſibility of drawing together a number of men ſufficient to attempt any thing by force, it ought to have been to him the ſtrongeſt motive for ſending thither ſuch an aſſiſtance as might be equal to the occaſion. So far were the miniſtry from attending to this, ſo far from ſending to the continent an augmentation, that they prevented that increaſe of force which the common military rotation would have carried thither. For the time was now coming when the regiments, which were on duty in that part of the world, were to be relieved by thoſe from Ireland. About 2500 men are carried to America for this purpoſe; and as the regiments which have paſſed the ſtated time of their ſervice there, are at the ſame time drawn down to the coaſt for embarkation, the junction of

theſe,

theſe, which might have been made in any place moſt proper for the ſervice, would have formed a body of near 5000 men, ready and able to have reduced the revolting provinces to obedience: this reſource was ſtopped under thoſe pretences, which in ſo extenſive a dominion are never wanting; under the pretence of fear of ſome tumults in Ireland, a reaſon which operated equally for two or three years together, theſe regiments were detained from America, where their preſence would have reſtored ſecurity to the officers, authority to the laws, and ſovereignty to Great-Britain.

Theſe were all the ſteps which the miniſtry had taken to execute the laws of their country, and to preſerve the allegiance of America, before the meeting of parliament. It is true, that Mr. C——y diſpatched to America two more letters on the 15th of December: but whoever reads them (they are in the Appendix, No. 5 and 6) will not

be ſurprized that no credit is given to the writer of them for any attempt to quell by their means the rebellion in America; though it appeared to have encreaſed both in extent and danger from the 24th of October to the time at which they were written; for they are addreſſed only to one province, they contain even leſs than his former diſpatches, and, in fact, refer to them as containing fully his Majeſty's ſentiments and commands.

All the intelligence has now been laid together, which was received after the 24th of October, 1765, and prior to the meeting of the parliament; and none has been produced, which was received after the Houſe of Commons had taken this matter into their conſideration. For by theſe means the reader is enabled to compare the intelligence with the conduct of the adminiſtration; and to determine in what degree they merit his approbation or cenſure, as miniſters entruſted with the execu-

execution of the laws of their country: a point very different from that, which is afterwards to be conſidered, the great queſtion of the repeal of the ſtamp-act; and to be determined upon very different grounds. If the act was repealed upon juſt reaſons, it will not follow that the conduct of the miniſtry, before the repeal, was either wiſe or honeſt: it is even part of their crime that their conduct had been ſuch as to make the repeal appear neceſſary to thoſe who repealed it. For, from the intelligence which has been produced, it appears, that they had not only omitted to execute thoſe clauſes for the relief of the Americans which muſt have facilitated the reception of the ſtamp-act; but even to ſend thoſe official inſtructions without which it was impoſſible that act ſhould be executed at all: they had ſeen the laws of Great-Britain, not only the law in queſtion, but thoſe of cuſtoms and police violated and rejected; her officers inſulted; her authority contemned; and her government diſſolved;

while the independence of the colonies was aſſerted by popular publications, provincial aſſemblies, and the ſtill more dangerous ſtep of open reſiſtance: they had looked on, while to maintain this independence, an American ſenate was formed, which might receive the reverence due to the parliament of England; and while a regular force was embodied to ſupport their pretenſions; and inſtead of checking ſo dangerous and encreaſing a revolt in its firſt and feeble beginnings, they had continued and encreaſed theſe evils by their neglect and connivance; and that they might, by repealing the act, detract from the merits of the preceding miniſtry, effect an union with Mr. Pitt, and ſecure their own continuance in office, they had ſacrificed the reputation, empire, and intereſts of Great-Britain.

It is impoſſible not to ſee that this was their deſign, becauſe their conduct was ſuch as could be produced by no other motives; and was the reverſe of

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that, which was dictated by common prudence and a regard for their own reputation and ſafety; becauſe it was foretold to them, both by the American officers and by the board of trade, that thoſe dreadful effects which did follow in America, would be the conſequences of that conduct; and becauſe too, at the period we now ſpeak of, the meeting of the parliament, they actually did apply them to that purpoſe.

In fact, all the motives which had hitherto influenced them to this conduct were increaſed in ſtrength: the tenure by which they held their offices was grown ſtill more precarious; the hand which had planted could no longer protect them; and deſtitute as they were of reputation, experience or ability, and looking round with anxious diſmay in ſearch of ſome ſupport, they ſaw none but in the deſtruction of the meaſures of their predeceſſor, and in an union with the great commoner. That gentleman had retained ſome de-

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gree of popularity, for he was not yet a peer; this would give them an appearance at leaſt of ſtrength; and he was ſufficiently converſant in buſineſs, to free them from the ridiculous diſtreſs of being obliged to aſk aſſiſtance from every one whom chance threw in their way. But an approximation to this perſon was not eaſy; ſome of them had forſaken him, and given him reaſon for that mixture of contempt and diſlike which he expreſſed pretty freely of them all: but he had declared his diſapprobation of the ſtamp-act; they approached him with that total ſubmiſſion to his ſentiments, which ſeldom fails of pleaſing, they entreated his protection, his intereſt required that *all the capital meaſures of the former miniſtry ſhould be thought wrong:* he gave them therefore his aſſiſtance on this queſtion, which was ſo intereſting to them as miniſters; and their ſubſequent behaviour has gained it in a ſtill greater degree; he has conſented to an union with them; and England, if ſhe has loſt America

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by this miniſterial intrigue, is ſo happy as to have purchaſed, by that ſmall ſacrifice, an adminiſtration compoſed of lord C——m and his adopted children.

Quod ſi non aliam venturo fata Neroni
Invenire viam ——————————
——————— *Cœlumque ſuo ſervire tonanti*
Non niſi ſævorum potuit poſt bella gigantum,
Jam nihil O ſuperi querimur, ſcelera ipſa nefaſque
Hâc mercede placent.

But, notwithſtanding their confidence in this powerful auxiliary, the miniſtry were well aware, that if the queſtion was to be debated on the principles of juſtice, policy, or public advantage, they could have no hopes of ſucceſs. Nothing therefore remained but to purſue thoſe meaſures which they had practiſed ſo long, and in which their American friends had given them ſuch effectual aſſiſtance; and to apply to the fears of thoſe, whoſe judgments they could not hope to convince.

The American merchants had written [c], *that no dry goods may be ſent out to them, unleſs the ſtamp-act is repealed; and ſome go ſo far as to ſay, that they will not pay their debts but upon that condition.*

This ſcheme (ſays a very intelligent [d] correſpondent) *is calculated ſolely to influence the people in England; and ſhould it be executed, the people in America will pay an extravagant price for old moth-eaten goods, and ſuch as the merchants could not otherwiſe ſell. The merchants may likewiſe have views of getting goods in that caſe from Holland and other foreign parts, while the mob can deter the cuſtom-houſe officers from attempting to do their duty.*

They have wrote many [e] *letters to their correſpondents in England, in which they throw*

[c] See letter to Mr. C——y, dated November 8, 1765.

[d] See paper encloſed in a letter to Mr. C----y, dated December 13, 1765.

[e] See letter to Mr. C——y, dated December 21, 1765.

throw the blame upon the unruly populace; magnifying the force and determined resolution of the people to oppose the execution of the law by every means; with a view to terrify and frighten the people of England into a repeal of the act. And the merchants having countermanded the goods they had wrote for, unless it was repealed, they make no doubt that many trading towns and principal merchants in London will assist them to accomplish their ends.

Their expectations were well grounded; many trading towns and principal merchants in London did assist them to accomplish their ends; but the ministry took the lead, and employed for this purpose every engine in their power: every body remembers the industry with which all their writers and orators of every shape and size endeavoured to depreciate the rights of Great-Britain; and to exalt the privileges of the free-born, virtuous and independent Americans; their union and their strength were represented as irresistible, and their

employing theſe in reſiſtance to the Engliſh parliament praiſed as heroic.

When, it was hoped, the minds of the people were prepared by theſe declamations, petitions were ſollicited by their agents from ſuch of the manufacturing towns as they could hope to influence; a regular ſociety of American merchants in London was formed for this among other purpoſes; this ſociety, ſupported and aſſiſted by government, became ſo ſucceſsful, as to claim at length the ſuperiority; they obtained it; and the counſels of the kingdom were guided, not by the enlarged maxims of general policy, not by conſiderations even of permanent and extenſive commercial intereſts, but by the temporary and partial views of a junto of intereſted traders held at a tavern. Now that the ferment raiſed on this occaſion has ſubſided, one can ſcarcely believe this fact, though ſo recent and authentic; or that ſuch means and inſtruments ſhould produce, as they did produce, the

the repeal of the ſtamp-act. For it was in vain that, to the popular panic, every argument was oppoſed, which the principles of juſtice, of the conſtitution, of policy, even of intereſt could furniſh. It was in vain that thoſe, who were ſo unpopular as to defend the cauſe of Great-Britain, urged that the ſtamp-act had paſſed upon the moſt general and acknowledged grounds of Whig policy, that ſupport on the part of the ſubject, is due in return for protection on the part of government; that taxation ſhould be extended over all the parts of a ſtate, in proportion to the relative ability found in each. If, ſaid they, we examine the arguments by which the Americans would prove their right of exemption, we ſhall ſee that the admiſſion of them diſſolves at once the conſtitution of our country: if the legiſlature has no power but over thoſe who vote for the election of the members which form one part of it, not only all our poſſeſſions in Aſia, Africa and America are exempted from any obedience

to the laws of trade, revenue and police, paſſed in England; but even nineteen-twentieths of the inhabitants of Great-Britain are releaſed from their ſubjection; and entituled to return to that ſavage freedom on which every reſtrictive law is an uſurpation. But it is not from its abſurd and pernicious conſequences alone that we prove the falſehood of this maxim; it proceeds from an ignorance of the nature and powers of our conſtitution. The Commons of Great-Britain, aſſembled in parliament, are not only the repreſentatives of the counties and boroughs who depute them, but of all the commons of the realm: they are entruſted with the intereſts, appointed to guard the liberties, relieve the burthens, and redreſs the grievances of the whole kingdom; there is no part of it but is entituled to their protection, there is none therefore which is exempted from their authority; the contrary doctrine diminiſhes their utility, degrades their character, and reduces them from the honourable and

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extenſive office of being the guardians and counſellors of a whole kingdom, to that of burgomaſters for a petty, ſometimes an uninhabited borough. It is one of the firſt duties of thoſe to whom this important truſt is committed to execute it, and eſpecially that unpleaſing but neceſſary part of it the power of taxation, in the moſt impartial manner; it is this alone which can induce the ſubject to bear with patience the burthen of impoſts: will you not then betray the truſt of your conſtituents, if you ſuffer any part of the people to force an exemption from thoſe taxes which the public exigencies require to be impoſed on the whole; and will you not deſtroy that confidence on which all government is founded?

The diſtinctions which have been made on this ſubject are not well grounded; *The parliament has the right of impoſing external, not internal duties: and it will be proper to lay on the Americans every burthen which the hand of power*

power can impoſe, if they ſhould attempt to become manufacturers. Theſe ſentiments have been delivered and received as maxims; but the difference between the right of impoſing internal and external duties is merely imaginary, grounded on no principle of juſtice or policy, contradictory to the claims of the Americans, whoſe *reſolutions*[f] *aſſert their exemption from all duties not impoſed by themſelves*; and is treated as an idle diſtinction by Mr. Otis, the choſen champion of American privileges. The other maxim, that of forbidding manufactures, ſeems a much greater and leſs juſtifiable infringement of the rights claimed by the Americans, than the impoſing on them a tax for their own defence, is with difficulty to be reſolved into any principle but that of power; and muſt be very uncertain in its extent and operation; whereas that of the ſtamp-act is founded in juſtice, and of certain and acknowledged extent and application.

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[f] See Appendix, No. 7 and 14.

The ability of America, to raiſe this proportion of the ſum neceſſary for their own defence, admits of no doubt; the preſſure of debt upon them, of which, as of a popular topic, they have made ſome uſe, was at the end of the war not quite 2,600,000 *l*: it is already reduced to about 767,000 *l*, and the greater part of this will be paid off in two or three years by funds provided for that purpoſe. The whole ſum expected to be raiſed by the ſtamp-duty was 100,000 *l* a year; the repartition of this upon 1,500,000 people, at which the loweſt computation eſtimates the preſent inhabitants of that country, would not draw from each perſon more than half the value of a day's labour in America. England has even furniſhed them with reſources to raiſe the revenue ſhe has required; the bounties given to them on two or three articles alone would enable them to ſupport the new impoſitions; and the increaſe of the eſtabliſhments there furniſhes them with another fund, which alone would

more

more than balance the account; it is ſufficient to mention this, for it is not on this ground that the Americans wiſh to ſtand; they do not plead poverty, but privilege; and have reſted their cauſe, not upon their inability to ſupport, but their right of exemption from an Engliſh tax.

The manner in which the reſiſtance has been exerted, proves ſtill more ſtrongly the neceſſity of oppoſing it with firmneſs. Riots in the capitals of the provinces, perſonal attacks on our officers, inſults on our government, theſe are the actions by which they have accompanied and ſupported thoſe reſolutions of their aſſemblies which diſclaimed our authority. The miniſtry, partial as they are to the Americans, have themſelves acknowledged that in theſe circumſtances it would be diſgraceful, and it is impoſſible to repeal the act. Read, in the diſpatches of Mr. C——y, who will not be ſuſpected of aſſerting the rights of Great-Britain

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in too high a tone, this point determined. He directs the officers to *represent to them the dreadful consequences that must inevitably attend the forcible and violent resistance to acts of the British parliament.*

He assures them that *his Majesty cannot permit his own dignity and the authority of the British legislature to be trampled on by force and violence.*

Neither will his Majesty undoubtedly submit, or his servants advise, under any circumstances, that the respect which is due to parliament, and which is necessary for the general good of the whole British empire, should any where be made a sacrifice to local and dangerous prejudices.

From the time of writing these letters, the disrespect to parliament, the violent resistance to acts of the British legislature, and those outrages, by which they were supported, have been continually encreasing; the disgrace there-

fore and the danger are proportionally encreaſed, and thoſe ſentiments which then animated him are ſtrengthened too; it is impoſſible therefore that the miniſtry can, without acting in direct contradiction to themſelves as well as to their duty, propoſe that the reſpect due to parliament ſhould be made a ſacrifice to local and dangerous prejudices. To make this ſacrifice will deter both future miniſters from forming any ſchemes for the public utility, which may expoſe them to be ſacrificed to combinations of private intereſt, the clamour of multitudes, or the malice of faction; and future officers from executing acts of parliament, for and in that country; and will contribute to the ſucceſs of the deſign which the moſt deſperate of the coloniſts have formed *to make Great-Britain contemptible, by extorting a repeal of an act of parliament during an actual reſiſtance to its execution*: a repeal which will either abrogate in effect all other laws and ſtatutes relating to our colonies; or at leaſt greatly encreaſe

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the difficulty of enforcing them, as well as poſtpone it to a ſeaſon, when the ſtrength of the colonies as well as their claims of independence being augmented, the ſituations and diſpoſitions too of the other powers of Europe may be ſuch as to render the conteſt far more dangerous.

Theſe, and the other arguments, which were drawn from all the great and intereſting topics with which the ſubject abounds, were ſcarcely heard, for it was reaſon only which ſpoke: the tumult of popular fear expreſſed itſelf in louder terms, and was more attended to. The Americans had withdrawn their commiſſions; they threatened to withhold the payment of their debts; the firſt of theſe was an illegal and hoſtile combination to diſtreſs our manufacturers, a ſtep rather allowable in an equal when in a ſtate of war, than in ſubjects who pretend to be in peace: the laſt was ſuch a breach of private faith as is not practiſed even in time of

war between jealous commercial rivals; and both of them means which would always be in the power of the Americans to uſe, and would hereafter be recurred to with an aſſurance of ſucceſs: and yet theſe reaſons, which would have made it diſgraceful and unwiſe to have given way in an indifferent matter, operated ſo ſtrongly on the multitude that they perſwaded them we ought to recede in the juſteſt cauſe, and from the ſtrongeſt ground. Petitions were obtained, the manufacturers excited, the merchants clamorous, the miniſtry, intereſted and factious, directed to their own purpoſes the reſiſtance and the clamours which they had raiſed; and the legiſlature, with a condeſcenſion to popular alarm, and a lenity to the colonies which demands the ampleſt returns of gratitude and obedience, paſſed a bill for the repeal of the ſtamp-act.

The conduct of the late adminiſtration has now been ſtated from authentic vouchers,

vouchers; it is time to examine the merits of it with regard to the crown, to America, and to Great-Britain. In ſpeaking of that adminiſtration, I would be underſtood to ſpeak generally; I do not pretend to be informed by what part of it the counſels were planned; it is therefore left to them to divide in the proper proportions that praiſe to which the public ſhall think them entituled. If the ſ——y for the ſ——n department was only the hand, I deſire to charge him only with being the hand; though to the ſtate he is accountable for the plan of thoſe counſels by which his department is conducted: a weight which he has with great prudence and caution contrived, if it be poſſible, to ſhift on other ſhoulders, by a ſtratagem exactly equal with that of a much fatter commander, who prudently withdrew when he had *led his raggamuffins where they might be peppered.*

The firſt whom their conduct regards is a name which ſhould never be mixed amid

amid the tumult of party conteſts; and which I mention with reluctance though it is to recall to it that reverence which is its due, and which the behaviour of the late adminiſtration has tended ſo much to diminiſh. It is the great advantage which limited and mixed monarchies have over thoſe of a more deſpotic caſt, that in them there are ſo many intermediate ſubordinate powers between the king and his people, that the love and reverence, which for the public good it is expedient he ſhould poſſeſs, may always be retained to him. To this end it is neceſſary that the private ſentiments of the monarch ſhould not be quoted at all; and that thoſe of his character ſhould be expreſſed with a moderation and dignity equally removed from the vehemence of any party, that he may continue to all the object of veneration. The late adminiſtration offended againſt both theſe parts of their duty as miniſters.

It would perhaps be unjuſt to reproach them with the effeminate, uncertain, and even ungrammatical expreſſions in which they cloath the ſentiments which they attribute to their ſovereign; ſo different from that plain and natural ſtyle which ought to convey the commands of an Engliſh king; becauſe it is probable that they uſed on this occaſion the beſt expreſſions in their power.

But they are to be told, that to deſcribe their maſter as *ſurpriſed*, and as *highly provoked* (ſee Appendix, No. 3 and 5) is not a proof of their knowledge of the duties of adminiſtration. The preſident Monteſquieu, when he condemns this mixing of paſſion with the royal authority, which he ſays (Liv. xii, chap. 25) *eſt un grand reſort, qui doit ſe mouvoir aiſément, & ſans bruit*, could not more exactly have deſcribed their diſpatches, if he had read them. *Un miniſtre malhabile—ne ſcait vous dire ou vous ecrire ſi ce n'eſt que le prince eſt*

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fachè, qu'il eſt ſurpris, qu'il meltra ordne. The reaſon of the impropriety of this kind of ſtyle he had given before, *Dans nos monarchies toute la felicitè conſiſte dans l'opinion que le peuple a de la douceur du gouvernement.* The king is the father of his people, and he views their errors and their crimes with that compaſſion with which parents regard the miſconduct of their children; it is with reluctance that he lifts his hand to puniſh, and it is not the being *provoked*, it is the neceſſity of preventing greater evils, it is juſtice, it is his paternal care for his obedient ſubjects, which draws from him any mark of correction and chaſtiſement. It is by this character that he preſerves the reverence of his people, and therefore to attribute to him thoſe little paſſions, which may perhaps at ſome times agitate the minds of his miniſters, is to diminiſh his dignity, the confidence which his ſubjects place in him, and the happineſs of his people. This is ſo ſelf-evident that I doubt not the ſ——y himſelf will be the firſt to acknow-

acknowledge it; and to confeſs that he could not, without betraying equally the truth and his duty, repreſent his maſter as *highly provoked*.

But this was not the only inſtance in which they miſrepreſented the ſentiments of their ſovereign: when they were to influence by authority thoſe whom popular tumult could not terrify to conſent to the repeal of the ſtamp-act, they had recourſe to the name of the ——; aſſuring thoſe who would hear them, that the —— wiſhed it might be repealed. The part of honeſt and affectionate ſervants was the very reverſe of this; ſuppoſing the meaſure itſelf to have been juſt, all mention of that name ſhould have been ſuppreſſed, till, the ſucceſs of the repeal being aſcertained, the wiſhes which he expreſſed for the relief might be held out as the object of the gratitude of his people; but to quote this authority, and to riſque thereby this reputation for the promotion of their own party-purpoſes,

was a conduct neither ſuggeſted by duty to their ſovereign, nor by regard for the conſtitution: this reſerve would have been neceſſary, had the opinion of the —— been that which they attributed to him; but it is certain that they falſified as well as proſtituted the ſentiments of the ——: it is certain, although when contradicted on this ſubject by thoſe who could do it with authority, they endeavoured to avoid the diſgrace of this contradiction by an expedient borrowed from their only ſchool of buſineſs, thoſe clubs of gaming in which gentlemen do not truſt the unwritten words of gentlemen, and demanded in writing the words of their ſovereign.

His words were the genuine dictates of his wiſdom and love for his people; careful of the ſafety of all his ſubjects, he wiſhed to unite them all by the bands of mutual ſupport, and by a community of duties as well as of rights. They can claim no merit towards the crown, who by their artifices

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prevented the execution of that royal wiſh; but muſt with terror look forward to that hour, for it will come, when Auguſtus, grieved with the remembrance of the only loſs which can obſcure the glories of his ſucceſsful reign, ſhall demand from them a reſtitution, not of a province, but of an empire more extenſive than that of Rome; not of three legions, but of whole nations of ſubjects.

They appear however to deſerve at leaſt the thanks of the Americans, whoſe preſent intereſts they have promoted, and of whoſe privileges they are the avowed patrons; and yet there are many reaſons which may induce thoſe who are beſt acquainted with the true intereſts of that country, to think that they have not been ſerved by the late project of emancipation. If it is true, as it has hitherto been pretty generally thought, that the good of each part is inſeparable from that of the whole, their intereſts are involved in

thoſe of the whole empire, and they muſt themſelves be hurt by their partial exemptions.

If it is the intereſt of colonies, formed of ſuch various and diſcordant materials, to be attempered, guided, encouraged, or reſtrained by their common parent; the being ſet looſe from that tie, and encouraged to reject the authority of that parent, will have material and immediate ill conſequences. It is true, that the Americans, under the ſhade and protection of Great-Britain, have made rapid advances in population, commerce and wealth; but are they ſufficiently ſtrong to flouriſh without her care; or to ſupport, I will not ſay her reſentment, but her neglect? The provinces on the American continent have been ſo divided in principles, ſentiments and manners; ſo jealous of the progreſs of each other in ſtrength, commerce and riches, that they have ever been unable to form an union equal to their own defence. Their frontiers on

both

both ſides are extenſive, and therefore eaſily attacked; they have no fortreſſes, no ſhips of force, no marine of their own; but muſt depend upon the Engliſh navy to keep at a diſtance from them thoſe dangers which they are unable to repell: the Indian nations, reduced as they are, are ſtill formidable to them; it was by the Engliſh arms that their inroads ſince the peace have been checked and prevented; thoſe arms of the expence of which the coloniſts have refuſed to pay any proportion: and yet they may again want the protection of that government which they have rejected; and they may call too late for the efforts of that warmth of affection, which ſuch a partial exemption tends to alienate from them.

It tends too to alienate from them this affection, from which they have received ſuch advantages, that they have been repreſented to have ſome peculiar claims to a freedom which they purchaſed by peculiar fortitude; a repreſentation

ſentation which is moſt untrue. We have been told, that having *fled to that country from our oppreſſion*, their migration to America, as it argued in them a love, ſo it gave them a title to freedom ſuperior to that of their fellow ſubjects who remained in England. But to eſteem the Americans our brethren, and to wiſh that they may deſerve and poſſeſs all the ſweets of civil and religious liberty, which Great-Britain enjoys, does not make us forget that they received theſe bleſſings from England, and depend on her for the continuance of them. The truth of the latter of theſe propoſitions is obvious; the proof of the former would be eaſy but invidious; for the hiſtory of theſe colonies is not involved in that cloud of fable which hangs over and aggrandizes the origin of more antient nations: it would not be difficult to give a detail of the eſtabliſhment of each; and it would appear from that detail that there are few of them who could claim any hereditary diſcriminating privileges. Of the patriot

coloniſts

coloniſts of New-York it is ſo far from being true that *they fled from our oppreſſion, or grew by our neglect*, that they were Dutch ſubjects acquired by our arms, and received, by a formal ceſſion from Holland in 1667, into our protection. Of the Virginians, whoſe *reſolutions* were the alarum-bell to rebellion, and who have been eſteemed the great patrons of American privileges, it may be ſaid with truth, that all the inhabitants of that colony did not retire thither from motives of religion and virtue; and that ſome of them at leaſt were removed to that place, not by the oppreſſion but the mercy of the government of England. Nor is this peculiar to the colony of Virginia, for I find in one of the American newſpapers, dated Boſton, September 2, 1765, that one of thoſe patriots who had been the moſt active in forcing from Mr. Johnſon a reſignation of his ſtamp-office was a *foreigner* (by which name I ſuppoſe they do not yet deſcribe an Engliſhman) *who had been tranſported from England*

to

to America. Such a detail would be but a mild return for all thoſe marks of neglect, contempt, and inſult on Great-Britain, with which the writings of that country have abounded; it will however be more temperate only to ſay, that admitting that to be true of all the colonies, which is perhaps true only of the New-England governments, that the ſettlers of them retired thither to enjoy that liberty of which a monarch of arbitrary principles was endeavouring to deprive them at home; yet leſs praiſe is due to thoſe who fled from the danger, than to thoſe who had the courage to abide it. If their flight argued in them a love of freedom, their countrymen who remained in England ſhewed by their actions an equal love of it, ſupported with more reſolution and ſucceſs; they took arms to oppoſe the tyranny from which the others fled, averted it by the civil war, and aboliſhed it by the revolution. In theſe two hazardous enterprizes, undertaken for the cauſe of liberty, the colonies took

took no part; they followed in both the fortunes of the mother-country; the patriots of which diffuſed the advantages of their ſucceſs to the infant colonies after their ſettlement; and the coloniſts therefore have neither ſhewn any peculiar attachment, nor can be entitled to any of thoſe ſuperior claims to freedom, which have been ſo invidiouſly and falſely made in their behalf; but owe every branch of the liberties of Engliſhmen to the community of rights, which they are entitled to as long as they remain in that ſubjection to England, to which they are bound by the ties of gratitude, juſtice, and intereſt. In fact, the rights to which they have a juſt claim, are rendered precarious by placing them on the ground, on which ſome of their imprudent advocates in England have concurred with ſome of their aſſemblies to place them.

The franchiſes of Great-Britain are protected and preſerved for all the ſubjects of the realm by the ſame power

which defined and obtained them; for it was not by the flight of a few Plymouth adventurers, but by the courage and conſtancy of the people of England that the freedom of our conſtitution was defended: *the bill of rights, the act of ſettlement*, on which all our liberties depend, are not the reſolutions of an aſſembly of coloniſts, but the acts of an Engliſh parliament. As our liberties were eſtabliſhed, ſo they are ſtill protected by the legiſlature of Great-Britain; it is as claimants under this title, and ſubjects to this power, that the Americans have ever enjoyed and ſtill enjoy them; a claim and title which cannot exiſt in thoſe who reject its authority: the cauſe therefore of the coloniſts and their rights, are betrayed by thoſe who withdraw their dependence from the ſupreme legiſlature, and teach them to reſt upon the precarious and feeble ſupport of a provincial aſſembly.

The Americans indeed owe it to the connivance and encouragement of the

laſt

laſt miniſtry, that their people have been blooded with the prey of ſedition; that they have been taught to obtain ſupport by other means than induſtry, and privileges by other means than obedience; but whether the exciting and rewarding this temper will conduce to the happineſs of that continent, either in the ſeveral provinces, or conſidered as a common empire, is to be referred to the judgment of the wiſe and loyal of the coloniſts: a judgment which they have already expreſſed; for all the Americans are not to be involved in thoſe accuſations of diſobedience, which have been proved on ſome. There have ever been among them men of wiſdom and moderation, well acquainted with and attached to the conſtitution of their country; and though ſome of theſe, driven as exiles to Great-Britain, are neglected in that kingdom for the cauſe of which they ſuffer; there are yet many others, who wait only 'till the firſt guſt of popular tempeſt is paſt, to

avow their principles and return to their duty.

In truth the Americans in general are leſs guilty than they may at firſt ſight be thought: the deſire of preſent eaſe is the common feeling of man, and the bulk of the people are ſo entirely guided by their feelings, that there is ſcarcely an inſtance of their ſubmitting to impoſts, however eſſential to their intereſts or even to their ſafety, from any motives but thoſe of neceſſity. The Americans exerted only on a ſimilar occaſion the ſame ſpirit, which animated the cyder counties to tumult and almoſt to rebellion: theſe counties are not invidiouſly mentioned; for there is not, it is probable, any part of our dominions, ſcarcely any county in England, which, if government in it had been ſo neglected and relaxed, riots ſo encouraged, and rebellion ſo unchecked, would not have expreſſed an equal averſion to the obnoxious burthen of taxes. In viewing commotions of this kind it

is natural to pity, while we condemn the unthinking and miſguided people: but on thoſe who could behold the firſt riſing of the American ſtorm without even attempting to ſuppreſs it, could give it ſtrength by ſuch a conduct as implied approbation; and, that they might blaſt their predeceſſors in office, contribute to raiſe a tempeſt which was to lay the colonies waſte, and tear America from England; on theſe our indignation muſt be poured unmixed; and they may well expect that the dangers and the miſchiefs of the diſunion, will bring on them the reſentment and reproaches of thoſe of the coloniſts who underſtand their duty and their intereſts.

If however the late adminiſtration have the juſteſt title to thoſe honours and ſtatues, which ſome of the Americans have loyally admitted their ſovereign to ſhare with the E. of C——m; from England they have no claim to approbation: in that oppoſition of intereſts which they ſo unwiſely raiſed between

between the members and the head, every merit towards America, is a crime to their country.

When it became a queſtion, whether the colonies ſhould be called upon for a juſt and moderate contribution towards their own defence; or that this ſhould be thrown, in addition to their other burthens, on the inhabitants of Great-Britain; to ſurrender our juſt rights, and to endeavour to force a deciſion of this queſtion in favour of America, by all the arts of intrigue and faction, cannot merit the thanks of the people whoſe intereſts they ſurrendered. The other meaſures propoſed by that miniſtry do not immediately belong to this ſubject, and I obſerve in this place, that they conſiſted of exemptions from commercial reſtraints, relaxations of the act of navigation, remiſſions of duties, all favourable to the colonies, and diſadvantageous to Great-Britain, only as a proof that the having introduced a rivality between them, and preferred

America,

America, cannot entitle them to popularity in England.

It would indeed have been unreaſonable to have expected from the late miniſtry any meaſure which required extenſive views, or a concerted plan; it would have been abſurd to have hoped that they would hazard a breath of that popular air, which they were gathering with ſo much induſtry to fill their ſail, for the ſake of a diſtant and public benefit: but nothing of this was neceſſary; they had ſucceeded a miniſter ſuch as they could wiſh, one who had been weak enough to ſubject himſelf to much real oppoſition, and more abuſe, for the ſake of *the ſtate*; who ſeems to have retained the uſeleſs and exploded idea of a *common weal, a public intereſt*. To this man even experience had not given prudence; and, though ſenſible that from purſuing a plan of Engliſh policy abroad, and of œconomy and improvement at home, he had reaped only the ſatisfaction of having diſcharged

his

his duty, while Mr. Pitt had acquired popularity by adopting the moſt expenſive German meaſures, and impoſing the moſt ſevere taxes to ſupport them; yet his obſtinacy had made him hardily oppoſe himſelf to the whole torrent which private intereſt and faction would not fail to pour on his head. He had done this merely that he might form and cement a laſting plan of policy, might unite the colonies by the firmeſt bands of dependence on Great-Britain, attemper their ſeveral intereſts, and lay the foundation of indiſſoluble union, and of encreaſing ſtrength and riches for diſtant ages.

It was natural that the miniſters who ſucceeded him ſhould deſpiſe this antiquated policy, ſo different from their own, and deride thoſe ſentiments which could give birth to it; but they would have done well to have profitted by it; and after having thrown all the abuſe they were able on the miniſter who planned it, at leaſt to have retained

thoſe

thoſe advantages which he had given to Great-Britain. Unhappily they embraced the oppoſite ſyſtem, and to blaſt, if it were poſſible, the reputation of one miniſter, whom they envied and feared; to ſecure an union with another, by whom they were deſpiſed; and to attain that degree of popularity, which the intereſted followers of ſome intereſted traders could beſtow, they propoſed the repeal of that act, the execution of which they had endeavoured to render impoſſible.

The ſucceſs of one of theſe deſigns the public has already ſeen in the permiſſion, which thoſe of the late miniſtry, who had moſt actively promoted that meaſure, have received from lord C———m to continue in office: that of the other two purpoſes ſeems leſs within their reach; for, though while the paſſions of the public were heated by thoſe whoſe intereſt it was to prevent their judging with impartiality, Mr. Grenville was the object of much abuſe,

it is not poſſible that the infatuation ſhould laſt; the clamours of mob, and the miſrepreſentations of faction will ſubſide; the taxes which have been removed from American and muſt be laid on Engliſh property will be felt; and the partiality of the impoſition will add weight to the load; a time is coming when it ſhall be remembered to his honour (and it ſhall ſcarcely be believed that in Great-Britain it could be a reproach to him) that he was the firſt who propoſed to ſecure by juſt and moderate ties the allegiance of thoſe colonies, which with ſo much expence we had planted, protected, and enlarged; who, when every branch of our trade, every neceſſary of life was taxed in England even to its utmoſt bearing, required from America ſome return for that ſupport, which we had ſo liberally given, ſome tribute for that wealth, which we had poured into her boſom, ſome aid towards maintaining her in that ſecurity, which we had ſo dearly purchaſed; and who, when the artifices

of

of faction had divided the intereſts of the ſeveral parts of our empire, and when the adminiſtration ſacrificed their truſt to their hopes of popularity and power, and became Americans; remained an Engliſhman.

The temporary and bought praiſe of that adminiſtration muſt ſubſide alſo, and they will receive from their countrymen that cenſure which they have ſo well merited. But I leave them to the good or evil fame which awaits them, for the object of this pamphlet was not the applauſe or cenſure of any ſet of men, or the mere contention of parties: it was undertaken with a better and honeſter view, with the hope, that if a plain ſtate of the facts relating to the ſtamp-act, ſupported by authentic vouchers, was laid before the public, it might prove to thoſe who have been guided by names inſtead of reaſons, have been miſled by falſe aſſertions, or have acted from fear rather than judgment, the neceſſity of untreading the

falſe ſteps which have been taken, of promoting better meaſures, and ſecuring, while yet it is poſſible to ſecure, the only remaining hope of Britain. It is better to aſſert than to prove that it is from the union and dependence of the colonies that we are to ſeek for our ſafety; it is time therefore to return to meaſures undertaken upon public grounds and permanent principles; what thoſe are, the peruſal of this tract may in ſome degree have ſuggeſted; and if any ſenator ſhould condeſcend to turn it over, he may perhaps, by the evidence it contains, be prepared to hear himſelf addreſſed by his conſtituents in ſome ſuch manner as this.

When I entruſted to you the care of my intereſts, and the power of granting ſome part of my property for the ſervices of the ſtate, I entruſted it in confidence that this power would never be uſed but on the calls of neceſſity, and would ever be exerciſed with juſtice. The character of a legiſlator demands the ſtricteſt attention to that general

general good which ariſes from ſubject-ing the ſeveral intereſts of the landed and commercial parts of the ſtate to one common end; and a mind too ſteady to be diverted from the purſuit of this end either by hopes or fears, by authority or by tumult. If it was wiſe or prudent to relax for a time the ſprings of government; to give opportunity to an inflamed and miſguided people to re-turn to their allegiance; that time has been given: The ſtamp act was repealed on the motives of condeſcention to mercantile intereſts and fears, and to popular violences; that hour of tumult is paſſed: If lenity to the coloniſts was then neceſſary, juſtice to England now claims its turn: Sacrifice no longer *the unalienable rights of ſupreme juriſdiction to the new and illegal claims of provincial aſſemblies*; but if the Americans enjoy the privileges, let them participate in ſome degree of the burthens of their fellow ſubjects. If their ability could have been doubted before, the admini-ſtration in 1764, and 1765 encreaſed it

by

by encouraging their cultivation and commerce; they have received more immediate advantages, at the expence of England, from the miniſtry which followed: If there could be any doubt whether theſe favoured children would be reclaimed to obedience by conceſſions, that doubt is removed. They would not expreſs that encroaching gratitude, which is contained in their addreſſes, if the object were only the repeal of a particular and light duty; it is plain that they underſtand the conduct of England to be an acknowlegement of the right which they claim, of taxing themſelves.

Their temper is ſtill more plainly proved by the indignation they expreſs at the claim of England to ſovereignty, and at the bare mention of *requiring* them to repair the damages, for the inſults are irreparable, which the officers of England have ſuffered at their hands.

The laſt and ſtrongeſt proof ariſes from their conduct; for it is certain that in the

the town of Boſton, the execution of the cuſtom-houſe laws is now actually ſuſpended, and ſeizures of ſmuggled goods prevented by open force in deſpite of the government of Great Britain. Now then at length call on them for an aid in ſome proportion to their ability; and oblige them to confeſs, not in words, but by obedience, the authority of England. Relieve me from that appearance of partiality which doubles the weight of every burthen which you impoſe; and while every neceſſary of life is taxed to its utmoſt bearing, do not deprive me of the melancholy conſolation which I draw from believing that the taxations are equally laid on all my fellow ſubjects.

I ſubmit to taxes as they are the purchaſe of peace and ſecurity; do not while you receive the price, withold the reward; nor encourage every ſpecies of outrage tending to the diſſolution of ſociety by granting thoſe exemptions to rebellion, which you refuſe to obedience. If tumult can extort the repeal of a duty

to be levied chiefly on the rich, while acquiescence is repaid by an additional and perpetual land tax on the poor, will you not excite the insurrections which you reward; and discourage that submission which is thus made to bear more than its own burthen? at least do not treat with more tenderness your emancipated and rebellious colonists, than those of your countrymen, who have perhaps been encouraged in tumult by American success. If the poor English peasant, driven into a temporary insurrection by the whip of that severest master Want, is taught to expect *condign punishment and speedy justice*, and calls forth the vigour and vigilance of government, let the wanton Americans forming a concerted plan of obstinate rebellion on occasion of a tax uncollected, and which would almost have been unfelt, awaken other sentiments than those of the *utmost lenity*.

To impose with success on the Americans that proportion of the public burthen

burthen which they ought to bear, ſeize the opportunity, while a general peace leaves you at liberty to employ in this ſervice, whatever force may be neceſſary for it; and while the infirm and diſjointed ſtate of the provinces renders a ſmall force equal to the work; an opportunity which may ſoon paſs, and the neglect of which muſt be fatal to the very ſafety of Great Britain. Other misfortunes may be repaired or borne, the loſs of battles or of cities may be redeemed or compenſated in more proſperous hours; but if you ſuffer this important hour to paſs unimproved, it is loſt for ever: The Americans will add to confidence in their claims, ſtrength to ſupport them; they will turn our favors to them into reaſons of reſiſtance, and refuſe to receive any longer our manufactures, which are become expenſive by being loaded with taxes impoſed for their protection; they will ceaſe to be the Colonies of England, and we ſhall have more than doubled the burthen of our national debt in a war undertaken for their defence, and the

ſucceſſes of which were all directed to their advantage, to enable them to pour the benefits of their trade into the boſom of our commercial rivals. The declaratory law aſſerting the power of Great Britain to tax the Americans, will hold forth *only a deluſive and nugatory affirmance of the right of the legiſlature of this kingdom*, if not followed by ſome bill which ſhall exert it. The ſurrender of ſo unalienable a juriſdiction, when this ſurrender might, and certainly in America would be attributed to ſuch motives, demands a ſubſequent vigour and firmneſs; if now, when time for recollection has been given, you neglect to purſue thoſe meaſures, which juſtice and neceſſity demand from you; and to which duty, gratitude and intereſt ought to ſecure obedience from them, the whole new world ceaſes for ever to be ſubject to your authority.

Miniſters for the purpoſes of intereſt and party may wiſh to continue this partial exemption; but you can act from

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no motives but thoſe of juſtice; your intereſt is united to your duty; and you cannot without departing from both give any ſupport to a miniſter capable of ſuch a conduct. If the public ſee with regret the power of government in the hands of lord C—m, it is from the dread not ſo much even of his continental, as of his colonial ſyſtem: It was from the commerce of the American part of our dominions that thoſe reſources were to be drawn, which his extravagance have rendered ſo neceſſary. But to continue every ſpecies of profuſion, and, by throwing wantonly his penſions into every open hand, to load the preſent revenue; while by emancipating the colonies he prevents even future improvements; is at once to divide the river of our wealth 'till it is loſt in a thouſand private channels, and to cut off its communication from that ſpring, by which it ſhould be ſupplied. We had leſs to fear from the inability of the laſt, than from the deſperate raſhneſs of the preſent ſtateſman; if the former connived at the coloniſts withdrawing themſelves from our dominion,

this profeſſes on principle to throw them from us. If we have almoſt loſt America by the timidity and neglect of thoſe who did not venture to deny our right to the dominion of that country, can we hope to recover it under his guidance, who is almoſt the only man in England who ventures to aſſert it owes us no ſubjection. If then in this hour of danger, when vigour and firmneſs are neceſſary to reclaim the colonies to our obedience, you ſee a junto formed of the miniſter who has taught them to deſpiſe our authority, joined to the peer who declares they are exempted from our dominion; you will not be ſatisfied with an unactive pity for your country; but will exert your beſt abilities to vindicate her rights, and provide for her ſecurity; and to oppoſe by every conſtitutional method, miniſters who are convicted of having ſacrificed to their jealouſy, reſentment, ambition, and intereſt, the ſafety of our officers, the dignity of our ſtate, the ſtability of our commerce, and the rights of our Legiſlature.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Reader will find, in this Appendix, ſome Chaſms left, and ſome ſlight Alterations made, to prevent the Writers being diſcovered: Theſe will be readily excuſed, when this Reaſon is known, which I chuſe to give in the Words of an *American* Correſpondent, in his Letter dated Nov. 2, 1765. *I ſhall communicate Things as they happen, although it is at the Riſque of my Life; for the Party, by their Tools, frequently give out, that if they knew the Man that would ſo far aſſiſt* Great-Britain, *as to inform againſt any Man, in this or any other Province, he ſhould not live many Hours.*

APPENDIX.

NUMBER I.

Copy of a LETTER *from Mr.* S——Y C——Y, *to Lieut. Gov.* FAUQUIER.

Sept. 14, 1765.

SIR,

IT is with the greateſt pleaſure I received his Majeſty's Commands to declare to you his moſt gracious approbation of your conduct. His majeſty and his ſervants are ſatisfied, that the precipitate reſolutions you ſent home did not take their riſe from any remiſſneſs or inattention in you; nor is his Majeſty at all inclined to ſuppoſe, that any inſtance of diffidence or diſſatisfaction could be founded in the general inclination of his antient and loyal Colony of Virginia;

the nature of the thing and your repre-ſentations induce a perſuaſion, that thoſe ill-adviſed reſolutions owed their birth to the violence of ſome individuals, who taking the advantage of a thin aſſembly, ſo far prevailed, as to publiſh their own unformed opinions to the world as the ſentiments of the Colony. But his Majeſty, Sir, will not, by the prevalence of a few men, at a certain moment, be perſuaded to change the opinion, or leſſen the confidence, he has always entertained of the Colony of Virginia; which has always experienced the protection of the Crown. His Majeſty's ſervants, therefore, with entire reliance on your prudence, and on the virtue and wiſdom of the Colony entruſted to your care, perſuade themſelves, that when a full aſſembly ſhall calmly and maturely deliberate upon thoſe reſolutions, they will ſee, and be themſelves alarmed at, the dangerous tendency and miſchievous conſequences which they might be productive of, both to the Mother Country and the Colonies, which are the equal objects of his Majeſty's parental care; and whoſe mutual happineſs

happineſs and proſperity certainly require a confidential reliance of the Colonies upon the Mother Country.

Upon theſe principles, Sir, and upon your prudent management, and a proper repreſentation to the wiſe and ſober part of the people, how earneſt his Majeſty is to extend the happy influence of his fatherly care over every part of his dominions, it is expected that a full aſſembly will form very different reſolutions, ſuch as may cement that union, which alone can eſtabliſh the ſafety and proſperity of the Colonies and the Mother Country.

As there is no intention in the Crown to attempt, nor in the King's ſervants to adviſe, any incroachments on the real rights and liberties of any part of his Majeſty's ſubjects; ſo neither will his Majeſty undoubtedly ſubmit, or his ſervants adviſe, under any circumſtances, that the reſpect which is due to parliament, and which is neceſſary for the general good of the whole Britiſh empire, ſhould any where be made a ſacrifice to local and dangerous prejudices.

As this important matter is, however, now before his Majeſty's privy council, as well as the other conſideration of the dangerous riot and mutinous behaviour of the people on the frontiers, *I ſhall not pretend to give any advice or inſtructions on theſe ſubjects*; not doubting, but you will ſoon have the fulleſt from the wiſdom of that Board, in all thoſe things, in which, by your laſt accounts, the moſt eſſential intereſts of the Colony are ſo deeply concerned.

You will therefore, in the mean time, be very attentive, by every prudent meaſure in your power, at once to maintain the juſt rights of the Britiſh government, and to preſerve the peace and tranquillity of the Provinces committed to your care.

But as theſe appear to me matters of government fit for his Majeſty's more immediate notice and information, I muſt beg you will not fail to tranſmit to me ſuch occurrences, from time to time, on theſe heads, as you may deem of importance in the light I mention.

I am, &c.

H. S. C——Y.

NUMBER

NUMBER II.

Extract of a LETTER *from Mr.* S——Y C——Y, *to Major-General* GAGE.

October 24, 1765.

SIR,

IT is with the greateſt concern, that his Majeſty learns the diſturbances which have ariſen in ſome of the North American Colonies: theſe events will probably create application to you, in which the utmoſt exertion of your prudence may be neceſſary; ſo as juſtly to temper your conduct between that caution and coolneſs, which the delicacy of ſuch a ſituation may demand on one hand, and the vigour neceſſary to ſuppreſs outrage and violence on the other. It is impoſſible, at this diſtance, to aſſiſt you by any particular or poſitive inſtruction, becauſe you will find yourſelf neceſſarily obliged to take your reſolution as particular circumſtances and emergencies may require.

It is hoped, and expected, that this want of confidence in the juſtice and tenderneſs

tenderneſs of the Mother Country, and this open reſiſtance to its authority, can only have found place among the lower and more ignorant of the people. The better and wiſer part of the Colonies will know, that decency and ſubmiſſion may prevail, not only to redreſs grievances, but to obtain grace and favour, while the outrage of a public violence can expect nothing but ſeverity and chaſtiſement. You, and all his Majeſty's ſervants, from a ſenſe of your duty to, and love of, your Country, will endeavour to excite and encourage theſe ſentiments.

If, *by lenient and perſuaſive methods*, you can contribute to reſtore that peace and tranquillity to the Provinces, on which their welfare and happineſs depend, you will do a moſt acceptable and eſſential ſervice to your Country: but *having taken every ſtep which the utmoſt prudence and lenity can dictate*, in compaſſion to the folly and ignorance of ſome miſguided people, you will not, on the other hand, where your aſſiſtance may be wanted to ſtrengthen the hands of government, fail to concur in every proper meaſure for its

its ſupport, by ſuch a timely exertion of force, as may be neceſſary to repel acts of outrage and violence, and to provide for the maintenance of peace and good order in the provinces.

NUMBER III.

Copy of a LETTER *from Mr.* S——Y C——Y, *to Governor* BERNARD.

October 24, 1765.

SIR,

YOUR letters of the 15th, 16th, 22d, and 31ſt of Auguſt, have been received; the three former not till yeſterday.

It is with the greateſt concern his Majeſty learns the diſturbances which have lately ariſen in your Province, the general confuſion that ſeems to reign there, and the total languor and want of energy, in your government, to exert itſelf with any dignity or efficacy, for the ſuppreſſion of tumults, which ſeem to ſtrike at the very being of all authority and ſubordi-

nation

nation among you. His Majeſty cannot but, with the greateſt ſurprize, hear of the refuſal of your Council to call for the aid of any regular force to the ſupport of the civil magiſtracy, at a time when, it ſeems, you had reaſon to think, there was no other power capable of providing for the peace and quiet of the Province.

Nothing can, certainly, exceed the ill-adviſed and intemperate conduct held by a party in your Province, which can in no way contribute to the removal of any real grievance they might labour under, but may tend to obſtruct and impede the exertion of his Majeſty's benevolent attention to the eaſe and comfort, as well as the welfare, of all his people.

It is hoped, and expected, that this want of confidence in the juſtice and tenderneſs of the Mother Country, and this open reſiſtance to its authority, can only have found place among the lower and more ignorant of the people; the better and more wiſe part of the Colonies will know, that decency and ſubmiſſion may prevail, not only to redreſs

grievances,

grievances, but to obtain grace and favour, while the outrage of a public violence can expect nothing but ſeverity and chaſtiſement. Theſe ſentiments, you, and all his Majeſty's ſervants, from a ſenſe of your duty to, and love of, your Country, will endeavour to excite and encourage: you will all, in a particular manner, call upon them not to render their caſe deſperate; you will, in the ſtrongeſt colours, repreſent to them the dreadful conſequences that muſt inevitably attend the forcible and violent reſiſtance to acts of the Britiſh parliament, and the ſcene of miſery and diſtraction to both Countries, inſeparable from ſuch a conduct.

If, by lenient and perſuaſive methods, you can contribute to reſtore that peace and tranquillity to the Provinces, on which their welfare and happineſs depend, you will do a moſt acceptable and eſſential ſervice to your Country; but having taken every ſtep which the utmoſt prudence and lenity can dictate, in compaſſion to the folly and ignorance of

ſome miſguided people, you will not, on the other hand, fail to uſe your utmoſt power for repelling all acts of outrage and violence, and to provide for the maintenance of peace and good order in the Province, by ſuch a timely exertion of force, as the occaſion may require; for which purpoſe, you will make the proper applications to general Gage, or lord Colvil, commanders of his Majeſty's land and naval forces in America: for however unwillingly his Majeſty may conſent to the exertion of ſuch powers as may endanger the ſafety of a ſingle ſubject, yet can he not permit his own dignity, and the authority of the Britiſh Legiſlature, to be trampled on by force and violence, and in avowed contempt of all order, duty and decorum.

If the ſubject is aggrieved, he knows in what manner legally and conſtitutionally to apply for relief: but it is not ſuitable, either to the ſafety or dignity of the Britiſh empire, that any individuals, under the pretence of redreſſing grievances,

grievances, ſhould preſume to violate the public peace.

I am, &c.

H. S. C——Y.

P. S. The ſloop which carries this will carry orders to lord Colvil, and to the governor of Nova-Scotia, to ſend to your aſſiſtance any force which may be thought neceſſary from thence, and which that Province can ſupply.

NUMBER IV.

Copy of Mr. S——Y C——Y's *Circular* LETTER *to the* GOVERNORS *in* North America.

October 24, 1765.

SIR,

IT is with the greateſt concern, that his Majeſty learns the diſturbances which have ariſen in ſome of the North American Colonies: if this evil ſhould ſpread to the Government of ——, where you preſide, the utmoſt exertion of your

prudence will be neceſſary, ſo as juſtly to temper your conduct between that caution and coolneſs which the delicacy of ſuch a ſituation may demand, on the one hand, and the vigour neceſſary to ſuppreſs outrage and violence, on the other. It is impoſſible, at this diſtance, to aſſiſt you, by any particular or poſitive inſtruction; becauſe you will find yourſelf neceſſarily obliged to take your reſolution, as particular circumſtances and emergencies may require.

His Majeſty, and the ſervants he honours with his confidence, cannot but lament the ill-adviſed intemperance ſhewn already in ſome of the Provinces, by taking up a conduct, which can in no way contribute to the removal of any real grievance they might labour under, but may tend to obſtruct and impede the exertion of his Majeſty's benevolence and attention to the eaſe and comfort, as well as the welfare, of all his people.

It is hoped and expected, that this want of confidence in the juſtice and tenderneſs of the Mother Country, and this open reſiſtance to its authority, can

only

only have found place among the lower and more ignorant of the people. The better and wiſer part of the Colonies will know, that decency and ſubmiſſion may prevail, not only to redreſs grievances, but to obtain grace and favour, while the outrage of a public violence can expect nothing but ſeverity and chaſtiſement. Theſe ſentiments you, and all his Majeſty's ſervants, from a ſenſe of your duty to, and love of, your Country, will endeavour to excite and encourage.

You will all, in a particular manner, call upon them not to render their caſe deſperate. You will, in the ſtrongeſt colours, repreſent to them the dreadful conſequences that muſt inevitably attend the forcible and violent reſiſtance to acts of the Britiſh Parliament, and the ſcene of miſery and calamity to themſelves, and of mutual weakneſs and diſtraction to both Countries, inſeparable from ſuch a conduct.

If, by lenient and perſuaſive methods, you can contribute to reſtore that peace and tranquillity to the Provinces, on which

which their welfare and happineſs depend, you will do a moſt acceptable and eſſential ſervice to your Country: but having taken every ſtep which the utmoſt prudence and lenity can dictate, in compaſſion to the folly and ignorance of ſome miſguided people, you will not, on the other hand, fail to uſe your utmoſt power, for repelling all acts of outrage and violence, and to provide for the maintenance of peace and good order in the Province, by ſuch a timely exertion of force as the occaſion may require; for which purpoſe, you will make the proper applications to general Gage, or lord Colville, commanders of his Majeſty's land and naval forces in America. For however unwillingly his Majeſty may conſent to the exertion of ſuch powers as may endanger the ſafety of a ſingle ſubject; yet can he not permit his own dignity, and the authority of the Britiſh Legiſlature, to be trampled on by force and violence, and in avowed contempt of all order, duty and decorum.

If the ſubject is aggrieved, he knows in what manner legally and conſtitutionally

tionally to apply for relief; but it is not ſuitable, either to the ſafety or dignity of the Britiſh empire, that any individuals, under the pretence of redreſſing grievances, ſhould preſume to violate the public peace.

I am, &c.

H. S. C——y.

P. S. *To Governor* WILMOT.

You will probably receive application from governor Bernard, to ſend him part of the force which may be within your government. Lord Colville has command to tranſport them; and you will be very attentive, that the public ſervice ſhould ſuffer no impediment from any delay in you, when ſuch application is made.

NUMBER

NUMBER V.

Extract of a LETTER *from Mr.* S——Y C——Y, *to Major-General* GAGE.

December 15, 1765.

SIR,

I Had the favour of your letters of the 4th, 8th, and 9th of November laſt, by which I learn, with the utmoſt concern, the diſordered ſtate of the Province where you reſide, and the very riotous and outrageous behaviour of too many of the inhabitants.

I did not fail to lay your diſpatches, together with thoſe of lieutenant-governor Colden, before his Majeſty, who, though highly provoked by ſuch an inſult offered to his governor there, is however pleaſed to hear, that matters were not puſhed to ſuch extremity, as might have coſt the lives of many of his ſubjects, and perhaps have tended, as you ſeem apprehenſive, to the great detriment, if not ruin, of the town of New-York; particularly if the fort had fired on that inſolent and infatuated mob which

which ſo provokingly approached. The temper ſhewn, as well by lieutenant-governor Colden, as by the officers there, is highly to be commended. His Majeſty is willing to ſuppoſe, that both yourſelf and governor Colden have acted on principles of duty to his ſervice, in the advice and reſolution formed to put the ſtampt paper into the hands of the magiſtrates of New-York; which, however, unleſs the neceſſity for it appeared very preſſing, muſt certainly be looked upon as a ſtep greatly humiliating and derogating to his Majeſty's government.

If the poſt was not tenable, or the papers inſecure there, it ſhould ſeem much preferable to have put them on board the man of war, as was propoſed: nor does there appear any good reaſon, why captain Kennedy refuſed to take them. It is difficult, at this diſtance, to judge with the ſame propriety of the conduct, to be held on occaſions of ſuch difficulty and importance, as on the ſpot. Had the perſonal ſafety of thoſe in the fort alone been conſidered, I am perſuaded, there would not have been a

moment's hesitation about the defence of it, against any attack that might rashly have been attempted: nor can his Majesty suppose any want of resolution for his service, in those who have, in their different stations, given so many proofs of their regard to it. It should otherwise seem, that the reality of the mobs being armed and prepared for an actual attack, should have been well ascertained before the papers were given up.

The step you have thought fit to take, in drawing together such forces as their situation allowed, was certainly prudent, and could not be too soon determined, on any positive grounds, to suspect an insurrection; and especially in regard to the securing his Majesty's stores, a circumstance which will still demand your greatest attention; and particularly those arms, which may be seized by the mob for their own mutinous purposes.

Your situation is certainly delicate and difficult, it requires both prudence and firmness in the conduct of all employed in his Majesty's service there; especially, considering

conſidering what you ſay of the difficulty, or rather impoſſibility, of drawing any conſiderable number of men together, and of the impracticability of attempting any thing by force, in the preſent diſpoſition of the people, without a reſpectable body of troops.

You ſeem to think there are ſtill hopes, that as the ſpirits of thoſe unhappy people have time to cool, there will be more ſubmiſſion ſhewn; you will not fail, I am perſuaded, in your ſtation, to avail yourſelf of every favourable ſymptom for the improvement of ſuch favourable diſpoſitions, any more than to exert yourſelf, where the neceſſity of the caſe may require, in ſupport of the honour of government, and for ſuppreſſing any riotous or rebellious reſiſtance offered to the laws, or thoſe magiſtrates who have the execution of them.

I hope my former letters are come ſafe, *as they will have conveyed to you his Majeſty's ſentiments and commands for your conduct, on the firſt notice of theſe diſturbances.*

NUMBER VI.

Copy of a LETTER *from Mr.* S——Y C——Y, *to Lieutenant-Governor* COLDEN.

December 15, 1765.

SIR,

I Have received your letter of the 5th of November by major James, and that of the 9th of the ſame month by the pacquet, with the minutes of the council of New-York, from the 31ſt of October to the 6th of November, &c.—From your laſt letter, I have hopes that time will produce a recollection, which may lead theſe unhappy people back to a ſenſe of their duty; and that, in the mean time, every proper and practicable meaſure will be taken to awe that licentious ſpirit, which has hurried them to thoſe acts of outrage and violence, equally dangerous to the ſober and well-diſpoſed part of the people, the eaſe and quiet of the city, and ſubverſive of all order and authority among them.

Sir

Sir Henry Moore will certainly be arrived before this reaches you; it is expected, therefore, Sir, from your knowledge of the country and people, that you ſhould inform the new governor of every thing neceſſary for his knowledge, as well reſpecting the ſtate of things, as the characters and diſpoſitions of men in that country. He will ſee that, by his inſtructions, he is empowered to ſuſpend members of the council, and officers of the law, who ſhall appear to deſire it; being, in that caſe, only obliged to ſend home immediately the reaſons and cauſes of ſuch ſuſpenſion. It is not improbable, that ſuch times as theſe may require the exerciſe of that power: as it is not doubted the governor will uſe it with diſcretion, ſo it is expected he ſhould not want firmneſs to uſe it boldly, whenever it may ſeem uſeful to the King's ſervice and the public peace,

NUMBER

NUMBER VII.

Copy of the RESOLUTIONS *of the Houſe of Burgeſſes in* Virginia, *in conſequence of a Motion made* (May 29, 1765,) *to take into Conſideration the late Act for levying a Duty upon Stamps.*

Reſolved, THAT the firſt adventurers and ſettlers of this his Majeſty's Colony and Dominion of Virginia brought with them, and tranſmitted to their poſterity, and all other his Majeſty's ſubjects ſince inhabiting in this his Majeſty's ſaid Colony, all the liberties, privileges, franchiſes and immunities, that have at any time been held and enjoyed, and poſſeſſed by the people of Great Britain.

Reſolved, That, by two royal charters granted by king James I. the Colonies aforeſaid are declared entitled to all liberties, privileges and immunities of denizens and natural ſubjects, to all intents and purpoſes, as if they had been abiding

abiding and born within the realm of England.

Reſolved, That the taxation of the people, by themſelves, or by perſons choſen by themſelves to repreſent them, who can only know what taxes the people are able to bear, or the eaſieſt method of raiſing them, and muſt themſelves be affected by every tax laid on the people, is the only ſecurity againſt a burthenſome taxation, and the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of Britiſh freedom, without which the antient conſtitution cannot exiſt.

Reſolved, That his Majeſty's liege people of this his moſt antient and loyal Colony have, without interruption, enjoyed the ineſtimable right of being governed by ſuch laws, reſpecting their internal polity and taxation, as are derived from their own conſent, with the approbation of their ſovereign, or his ſubſtitutes, and that the ſame hath been conſtantly recognized by the King and People of Great Britain.

NUMBER VIII.

October 1, 1765.

Copy of a Repreſentation of the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations, touching the Proceedings and Reſolutions of the Houſe of Repreſentatives of Maſſachuſet's Bay, *with reſpect to the Act for levying a Duty upon Stamps in* America, *and to other Acts of the Parliament of* Great Britain.

To the KING's *Moſt Excellent Majeſty.*

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

THE Houſe of Repreſentatives of your Majeſty's Province of Maſſachuſet's Bay having, laſt year, printed and publiſhed, in the journals of their proceedings, a letter from a Committee of that Houſe to their Agent here; in which letter the acts and reſolutions of the Parliament of Great-Britain were treated with the moſt indecent diſreſpect, and principles tending to a denial of the right

right of Parliament to levy taxes upon your Majeſty's ſubjects in the Colonies, were openly avowed; our predeceſſors in office thought it their duty to tranſmit this tranſaction to your Majeſty's conſideration, to the end that ſuch directions might be given, as the nature and importance of the matter ſhould appear to require.

Since this, and ſince the paſſing the act of Parliament for levying a ſtamp duty in America, the grounds of which act gave riſe to the reflexions contained in the above-mentioned letter, the ſame ſpirit that dictated the ſentiments it expreſſes, has appeared throughout the whole proceedings of the ſaid Houſe of Repreſentatives.

Upon the election of counſellors, who, by the conſtitution of this Colony, are annually choſen by the Houſe of Repreſentatives, the ſtrongeſt endeavours were uſed to preclude your Majeſty's ſecretary of ſtate, who has always been a member of the council from his ſeat at that Board; and this, as your Majeſty's governor repreſents, merely on account of

his having received an appointment (unſolicited) to be a diſtributor of the ſtamps: and the motion made in that Houſe, to diſcontinue the annual ſalary allowed for the ſupport of your Majeſty's governor, upon which proceeding we have this day made a ſeparate repreſentation to your Majeſty, ſeems to have ariſen from the ſame motives.

Theſe, however, being only attempts of individuals in the community, would not either have required or deſerved your Majeſty's attention, in the light in which we view them; but it further appears, from the journals of the Houſe of Repreſentatives in their laſt ſeſſion, that *this Aſſembly, having thought fit to make the propriety and expediency of the ſtamp-act, and of other acts of parliament, a ſubject of open queſtion and diſcuſſion*, came to ſeveral reſolutions and proceedings thereupon, which they kept ſecret till the laſt day of their ſeſſion, when they publiſhed them in their printed journals—Then follow the reſolutions—Then the Board of Trade proceeds thus: The object of the reſolutions and proceedings of *the Houſe*

Houſe of Repreſentatives of Maſſachuſet's Bay, is to recommend to, and induce, the reſt of your Majeſty's Colonies in *America*, to join in *a general congreſs of committees from the ſeveral aſſemblies, independent of the other branches of the legiſlature, and without any previous application to your Majeſty, to conſider and deliberate upon the acts of the parliament of this kingdom.* As this appears to us to be the firſt inſtance of a general congreſs, appointed by the Aſſemblies of the Colonies without the authority of the Crown; a meaſure which we conceive of dangerous tendency in itſelf, and more eſpecially ſo, when taken for the purpoſes expreſſed in the above-mentioned reſolution, and connected with the ſpirit that has appeared throughout the whole conduct of this particular Aſſembly; we therefore think it our indiſpenſible duty to ſubmit this matter to your Majeſty's conſideration, for ſuch directions as your Majeſty, with the advice of your Council, may think proper and expedient to give thereupon.

All which is moſt humbly ſubmitted, &c.

Whitehall, Oct. 1, 1765.

NUMBER IX.

Copy of a Repreſentation from the Board of Trade, with ſeveral Papers tranſmitted, relative to the outrageous Behaviour of the People at the Town of Boſton, *in Oppoſition to the Stamp-Duty Act. Dated* October 10, 1765.

To the KING's *Moſt Excellent Majeſty.*

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

SINCE our humble repreſentation to your Majeſty of the 1ſt inſt. in conſequence of ſome alarming proceedings of the Houſe of Repreſentatives, in the Province of Maſſachuſet's Bay, we have received letters from ——, giving an account of a riot of a moſt dangerous tendency, which had ariſen in the town of Boſton, and which, directing its fury againſt the houſes and perſons of the lieutenant-governor, and other principal officers of government, continued with repeated acts of extraordinary violence, from the 15th of Auguſt to the 26th of

the

the ſame month; at which period the tumult ſeemed ſuſpended, rather than allayed.

In whatever light theſe diſturbances may be viewed, whether in reſpect of the avowed object, which the perpetrators and abettors of them declare to be a general reſolution, to oppoſe and prevent the execution of an act of the Parliament of Great-Britain, or in reſpect of the ſtate of government and magiſtracy there, which —— repreſents to be utterly incapable of reſiſting or ſuppreſſing theſe tumults and diſorders, they ſeem to us of ſuch high importance, that we loſe no time in laying the letters and papers relating thereunto before your Majeſty, that your Majeſty may direct ſuch meaſures to be purſued, as your Majeſty, with the advice of your Council, ſhall think moſt prudent and effectual.

Which is moſt humbly ſubmitted, &c.

NUMBER X.

Extract of a Letter from ——, *to Mr.* S——Y C——Y.

New-York, Sept. 23, 1765.

THE reſolves of the Aſſembly of Virginia, which you will have ſeen, gave the ſignal for a general outcry over the Continent; and though I do not find, that the Aſſembly of any other Province has yet come to reſolutions of the ſame tendency, they have been applauded as the protectors and aſſertors of American liberty; and all perſons excited and encouraged by writings in the public papers, and ſpeeches, without any reſerve, to oppoſe the execution of the act: the general ſcheme concerted throughout ſeems to have been, firſt, by menace or force, to oblige the ſtamp officers to reſign their employments, in which they have generally ſucceeded; and next, to deſtroy the ſtampt papers upon their arrival; that, having no ſtamps, neceſſity might be an excuſe

excuſe for the diſpatch of buſineſs without them; and that, before they could be replaced, the clamour and outcry of the people, with addreſſes and remonſtrances from the Aſſemblies, might procure a repeal of the act. The populace of *Boſton* took the lead in the riots, and by an aſſault upon the houſe of the ſtamp officer, forced him to a reſignation. The little turbulent Colony of *Rhode-Iſland* raiſed their mob likewiſe; who were not content only to force a promiſe from the perſon appointed to diſtribute the ſtamps, that he would not act in that employment, but alſo aſſaulted and deſtroyed the houſes and furniture of Meſſ. Howard and Moffatt, and obliged them to fly for ſafety on board a ſhip of war: the firſt, a lawyer of reputation, *had wrote in defence of the rights of the Parliament of Great-Britain to lay taxes upon the Colonies*; the other a phyſician, who had ſupported the ſame in his converſations. The neighbouring Provinces ſeemed inclined to follow theſe examples, but were prevented by the almoſt general reſignation of the ſtamp officers.

The

The Boſton mob, raiſed firſt by the inſtigation of many of the principal inhabitants, allured by plunder, roſe ſhortly after of their own accord; attacked, robbed, and deſtroyed ſeveral houſes, and amongſt others, that of the Lieutenant-governor, and only ſpared the Governor's, becauſe his effects had been removed. People then began to be terrified at the ſpirit they had raiſed; to perceive that popular fury was not to be guided, and each individual feared he might be the next victim to their rapacity. The ſame fears ſpread through the other Provinces, *and there has been as much pains taken ſince, to prevent inſurrections of the people, as before to excite them.*

NUMBER XI.

Extract of a State of the Province, contained in a Letter to Mr. C——Y, *dated,* Dec. 13, 1765.

THE gentlemen of the law make the ſecond claſs, in which are properly included both the bench and the bar; both

both of them act on the same principles, and are of the most distinguished families in the policy of the Province.

The merchants make the third class; *many of them have suddenly rose from the lowest rank of the people to considerable fortunes, and chiefly in the last war, by illicit trade; they abhor every limitation of trade and duties, and therefore gladly go into every measure, whereby they hope to have trade free.*

The gentlemen of the law, both the judges, and the principal practitioners at the bar, are either owners, or strongly connected in family interest with the proprietors in general.—The gentlemen of the law, some years since, entered into an association, with intention, among other things, to assume the direction of government upon them, by the influence they had in the assembly; gained by their family connections, and by the profession of the law, whereby they are unavoidably in the secrets of many families. Many court their friendship, and all dread their hatred; by these means, though few of them are mem-

bers, they rule the Houſe of the Aſſembly, in all matters of importance; the greateſt number of the aſſembly being common farmers, who know little of men and things, and are eaſily deluded and ſeduced.

By this aſſociation, united in intereſt and family connections with the proprietors of the great tracts, a domination of lawyers was formed in this Province, which, for ſome years paſt, has been too ſtrong for the executive powers of government.—Beſides what is before related, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that, for ſeveral years paſt, the Aſſembly grants the ſupport of power only from year to year; they increaſe and leſſen the ſalaries of all the officers at their pleaſure; and the bill paſſed in the Houſe of Aſſembly (the author means the Houſe of Commons) in the laſt ſeſſions of parliament, laying internal taxes on the Colony, and paying all the officers of government, as it is ſuggeſted they may intend to do, will deſtroy the great and undue influence, which the Aſſembly has gained over the adminiſtration, to

the

the great prejudice of his Majeſty's prerogative in the Colonies; *and it is chiefly for this reaſon that the popular leaders ſo violently oppoſe the act for laying a Stamp Duty.*

NUMBER XII.

Extract of a LETTER *to the* LORDS *of* TRADE, *dated* Aug. 15, 1766.

YESTERDAY morning, at break of day, was diſcovered hanging upon a tree, in a ſtreet in the town, an effigy, with inſcriptions, ſhewing, that it was intended to repreſent Mr. Oliver the ſecretary, who had lately accepted the office of Stamp Diſtributor. Some of the neighbours offered to take it down, but they were given to know, that would not be permitted. Many gentlemen, eſpecially ſome of the council, treated it as a boyiſh ſport, that did not deſerve the notice of the Governor and Council. However, the Lieutenant-governor, as chief juſtice, directed the Sheriff to or-

der his officers to take down the effigy; and a Council was appointed to meet in the afternoon, to conſider what ſhould be done, if the Sheriff's officers were obſtructed in removing the effigy.

Before the Council met, the Sheriff reported, that his officers had endeavoured to take down the effigy, but could not do it without imminent danger of their lives. The Council met, repreſented this tranſaction as the beginning of much greater commotions, and deſired their advice what ſhould be done upon this occaſion. A majority of the Council ſpoke in form againſt doing any thing; but upon very different principles: ſome ſaid it was a trifling buſineſs, which, if let alone, would ſubſide of itſelf; but if taken notice of, would become a ſerious affair. Others ſaid, that it was a ſerious affair already: that it was a preconcerted buſineſs, in which the greateſt part of the town was engaged: that there was no force to oppoſe it, and making an oppoſition to it, without a power to ſupport the oppoſition, would only enflame the People,

and

and be a means of extending the miſchief to perſons not at preſent the objects of it.—The Sheriff was ordered to aſſemble the peace officers, and preſerve the peace; a matter of form, rather than real ſignificance.

It now grew dark; when the mob, which had been gathering all the afternoon, came down to the Town-houſe, bringing the effigy with them; and, knowing that they were ſitting in the Council-chamber, they gave three huzzas, by way of defiance, and paſſed on. From thence they went to a new building, lately erected by Mr. Oliver to let out for ſhops, and not quite finiſhed: this they called the Stamp-office, and pulled it down to the ground in five minutes. From thence they went to Mr. Oliver's houſe, before which they beheaded the effigy, and broke all the windows next the ſtreet. Then they carried the effigy to Fort Hill, near Mr. Oliver's houſe, where they burnt the effigy in a bonfire, made of the timber they had pulled down from the building. Mr. Oliver had removed his family from

his

his houſe, and remained himſelf with a few friends, when the mob returned to attack the houſe.

Mr. Oliver was prevailed upon to retire, and his friends kept poſſeſſion of the houſe: the mob finding the door barricaded, broke down the whole fence of the garden towards Fort Hill; and coming on, beat all the doors and windows of the garden front, and entered the houſe, the gentlemen there retiring. As ſoon as they had got poſſeſſion, they ſearched about for Mr. Oliver, declaring they would kill him. Finding that he had left the houſe, a party ſet out to ſearch two neighbouring houſes, in one of which Mr. Oliver was; but, happily, they were diverted from this purſuit by a gentleman telling them, that Mr. Oliver was gone with the Governor to the Caſtle; otherwiſe he would certainly have been murthered. After eleven o'clock, the mob ſeeming to grow quiet, the Lieutenant-governor, Chief Juſtice, and the Sheriff, ventured to go to Mr. Oliver's houſe, to endeavour to perſuade them to diſperſe: as ſoon as they began

to

to ſpeak, a ringleader cried out, "The Governor and the Sheriff, to your arms, my boys;" preſently after, a volley of ſtones followed, and the two gentlemen narrowly eſcaped, through favour of the night, not without ſome bruiſes. I ſhould have mentioned before, that a written order was ſent to the Colonel of the regiment of militia, to beat an alarm: he anſwered, that it would ſignify nothing, for, as ſoon as the drum was heard, the drummer would be knocked down, and the drum broke: he added, that probably all the drummers of the regiment were in the mob. Nothing more being to be done, the mob were left to diſperſe at their own time, which they did about twelve o'clock.—Whilſt I am writing, I ſaw a bonfire burning on Fort Hill, by which I underſtand the mob is up, and probably doing miſchief; I ſhall therefore diſcontinue this letter till I can receive information of what is done this night.

IN

Auguſt 16.

IN the afternoon of yeſterday, ſeveral gentlemen applied to Mr. Oliver, to adviſe him to make a public declaration, that he would reſign the office, and never act in it; without which they ſaid his houſe would be immediately deſtroyed, and his life in continual danger: upon which he was obliged to authorize ſome gentlemen to declare in public, that he would immediately apply for leave to reſign, and would not act in the office (as indeed it was impoſſible for him to do) until he received further orders.

Auguſt 22.

I Come now to purſue the ſubject of my letter, dated the 15th and 16th inſtant.—It is difficult to conceive the fury, which at preſent poſſeſſes the people of Boſton, of all orders and degrees of men: if a gentleman, in common converſation, ſignifies his diſapprobation of this inſurrection, his perſon is immediately in danger. A gentleman having ſaid, that, notwithſtanding what

was

was paſſed, he would accept of the ſtamp-office, a day was fixed for pulling down his houſe; it was prevented not without difficulty. Another gentleman having mentioned his expectation, that ſome regular forces would be ſent into the town, was obliged to make interceſſion to prevent his being mobbed. A Miniſter of the church of England having, in his ſermon, obliquely condemned theſe proceedings, has been threatened with the reſentment of the People. On the other hand, a Miniſter of one of the principal meetings told Mr. Oliver, that though he was ſorry this miſchief had fell upon him, yet it was a very proper and neceſſary proceeding, and he quite approved of it. Another congregational Miniſter, well known by his late polemical writings, has, as I have been told by ſeveral perſons, juſtified this proceeding in his ſermon, and prayed for its ſucceſs: but there are congregational Miniſters, I doubt not, (and I know ſome) who condemn it, but they dare not ſpeak out, which is the caſe of every one who does not approve of it.—

I would not willingly aggravate matters, but I really fear much worſe is to come than is paſſed: the Sheriff of this county, a prudent and reſolute man, has told me, that he was applied to by ſome friends, who would have perſuaded him to reſign his office, for it would ſoon become dangerous for a civil officer to appear; and that both his deputies at Boſton had applied to reſign. The firſt of November is appointed for a grand jubilee; when, I ſuppoſe, there will be much miſchief done, and vengeance wrecked upon thoſe who remain friends to government.

Auguſt 31, 1765.

IT is with the utmoſt concern, that I am obliged to continue the ſubject of my laſt letters of the 15th and 16th, and of the 22d inſt. the diſorders of the town having been carried to much greater lengths than what I have informed your Lordſhips of.

After the demolition of Mr. Oliver's houſe was found ſo practicable and eaſy, that the government was obliged to look

on,

on, without being able to take any one ſtep to prevent it, and the principal people of the town publicly avowed and juſtified the act, the mob, both great and ſmall, became highly elated, and all kinds of ill-humours were ſet on foot: every thing that, for years paſt, had been the cauſe of any popular diſcontent, was revived; and private reſentments againſt perſons in office worked themſelves in, and endeavoured to exert themſelves under the maſk of the public cauſe.

On Monday, Auguſt 26, there was ſome ſmall rumour, that miſchief would be done that night; but it was in general diſregarded. Towards evening, ſome boys began to light a bonfire before the Town-houſe, which is an uſual ſignal for a mob. Before it was quite dark, a great company of people gathered together, crying, *Liberty and Property*; which is their uſual notice of their intention to plunder and pull down an houſe. They went firſt to Mr. Paxton's houſe, who is marſhal of the Court of Admiralty, and ſurveyor of the port; and finding

before it the owner of the houſe (Mr. Paxton being only a tenant) he aſſured them, that Mr. Paxton had quitted the houſe with his beſt effects, and that the houſe was his; that he had never injured them, and finally, invited them to go to the tavern and drink a barrel of punch: the offer was accepted, and ſo that houſe was ſaved. As ſoon as they had drank the punch, they went to the houſe of Mr. Storey, regiſter-deputy of the Admiralty, broke into it, and broke it all to-pieces, and took out all the books and papers, among which were all the records of the Court of Admiralty, and carried them to the bonfire, and there burnt them: they alſo looked about for him with an intention to kill him. From thence they went to Mr. Hollowell's, comptroller of the Cuſtoms, broke into his houſe, and deſtroyed and carried off every thing of value, with about thirty pounds, ſterling, in caſh. This houſe was lately built by himſelf, and fitted and furniſhed with great elegance. But the grand miſchief of all was to come.

The

The Lieutenant-governor had been apprized, that there was an evil ſpirit gone forth againſt him; but, being conſcious that he had not in the leaſt deſerved to be made a party, in regard to the Stamp-act or the Cuſtom-houſe, he reſted in full ſecurity that the mob would not attack him; and he was at ſupper with his family when he received advice that the mob was coming to him. He immediately ſent away his children, and determined to ſtay in the houſe himſelf: but, happily, his eldeſt daughter returned, and declared ſhe would not ſtir from the houſe, unleſs he went with her; by which means ſhe got him away, which was undoubtedly the occaſion of ſaving his life. For, as ſoon as the mob had got into the houſe, with a moſt irreſiſtable fury, they immediately looked about for him, to murder him, and even made diligent enquiry whither he was gone. They went to work with a rage ſcarce to be exemplified by the moſt ſavage people. Every thing moveable was deſtroyed in the moſt minute manner, except ſuch things of value as were worth carrying

carrying off; among which were near 1000 l. ſterling, in ſpecie, beſides a great quantity of family plate, &c. But the loſs to be moſt lamented is, that there was in one room, kept for that purpoſe, a large and valuable collection of manuſcripts and original papers, which he had been gathering all his life-time, and to which all perſons, who had been in poſſeſſion of valuable papers of a public kind, had been contributing, as to a public Muſeum. As theſe related to the hiſtory and policy of the country, from the time of its ſettlement to the preſent, and was the only collection of its kind, the loſs to the public is great and irretrievable, as it is to himſelf, the loſs of the papers of a family, which had made a figure in this Province for a hundred and thirty years. As for the houſe, which, from its ſtructure and inſide finiſhing, ſeemed to be from a deſign of Inigo Jones, or his ſucceſſor, it appears, that they were a long while reſolved to level it to the ground: they worked three hours at the cupola before they could get it down, and they uncovered

part

part of the roof; but I ſuppoſe, that the thickneſs of the walls, which were of very fine brick-work, adorned with Ionic pilaſters worked into the wall, prevented their compleating their purpoſe, though they worked at it till day-light. The next day, the ſtreets were found ſcattered with money, plate, gold rings, &c. which had been dropt in carrying off. The whole loſs in this houſe is reckoned at 3000 l. ſterling.—It was now becoming a war of plunder, of general levelling, and taking away the diſtinction of rich and poor: ſo that thoſe gentlemen, who had promoted and approved the cruel treatment of Mr. Oliver, became now as fearful for themſelves as the moſt loyal perſon in the town could be.——When firſt the town took this new turn, I was in hopes that they would have diſavowed all the riotous proceedings; that of the firſt night, as well as the laſt. But it is no ſuch thing, great pains are taken to ſeparate the two riots: what was done againſt Mr. Oliver is ſtill approved of, as a neceſſary declaration of their reſolution not to ſubmit to the Stamp-act; and

even

even the cruel treatment of him and his family is juſtified by its conſequences, the frightening him into a reſignation: and it has been publicly hinted, that if a line is not drawn between the firſt riot and the laſt, the Civil Power will not be ſupported by the principal people of the town, as it is aſſured it ſhall be now.—So that the preſent authority of the Government is only exerciſed upon condition, and with preſcribed limitations.

NUMBER XIII.

EXTRACT *from* NEWS-PAPERS.

New-York, Nov. 4.

THE late extraordinary and unprecedented preparations in Fort George, and the ſecuring the ſtamped paper in that garriſon, having greatly alarmed and diſpleaſed the inhabitants of this city, a vaſt number of them aſſembled laſt Friday evening in the Commons, from whence they marched down the Fly, (preceded by a number of lights)

lights) and having ſtopped a few minutes at the coffee-houſe, proceeded to the fort walls; when they broke open the ſtable of the Lieutenant-governor, took out his coach, and, after carrying the ſame through the principal ſtreets of the city in triumph, marched to the Commons, where a gallows was erected, at one end of which was ſuſpended the effigy of the perſon whoſe property the coach was: in his right hand he held a ſtamped bill of lading, and on his breaſt was affixed a paper with the following inſcription, *The Rebel Drummer in the Year* 1765; at his back was fixed a drum, the badge of his profeſſion; at the other end of the gallows hung the figure of the Devil, a proper companion for the other, as it is ſuppoſed it was entirely at his inſtigation he acted: after they had hung there a conſiderable time, they carried the effigies with the gallows entire, being preceded by the coach, in a grand proceſſion, to the gate of the fort, where it remained for ſome time; from whence it was removed to the Bowling-green, under the muzzles of the fort guns, where

where a bonfire was immediately made, and the Drummer, Devil, Coach, &c. were conſumed, amidſt the acclamations of ſome thouſands of ſpectators; and, we make no doubt, but the Lieutenant-governor and his friends had the mortification of viewing the whole proceeding from the ramparts of the fort. But the buſineſs of the night not being yet concluded, the whole body proceeded with the greateſt decency and good order to Vauxhall, the houſe of major James, who, it was reported, was a friend to the Stamp-act, and had been over officious in his duty, from whence they took every individual article, to a very conſiderable amount, and having made another bonfire, the whole was conſumed in the flames, to the great ſatisfaction of every perſon preſent; after which they diſperſed, and every man went to his reſpective habitation. The whole affair was conducted with ſuch decorum, that not the leaſt accident happened.

NUMBER

NUMBER XIV.

Philadelphia. In Aſſembly, Sept. 21, 1765. A.M.

THE Houſe taking into conſideration, that an act of parliament has lately paſſed in England, for impoſing certain ſtamp-duties, and other duties, on his Majeſty's ſubjects in America, whereby they conceive ſome of their moſt eſſential and valuable rights as Britiſh ſubjects to be deeply affected, think it a duty they owe to themſelves and their poſterity, to come to the following reſolutions, viz.

Reſolved, *nem. con.* That the Aſſemblies of this Province have, from time to time, *whenever requiſitions have been made by his Majeſty for carrying on military operations for the defence of America*, moſt chearfully and liberally contributed their full proportion of men and money for thoſe ſervices.

Reſolved, *nem. con.* That whenever his Majeſty's ſervice ſhall, for the future, require the aids of the inhabitants of this Province, and *they ſhall be called upon*

for that purpoſe in a conſtitutional way, it will be their indiſpenſible duty, moſt chearfully and liberally to grant to his Majeſty their proportion of men and money, for the defence, ſecurity and other public ſervices of the Britiſh American Colonies.

Reſolved, *nem. con.* That the inhabitants of this Province are entitled to all the liberties, rights, and privileges of his Majeſty's ſubjects in Great-Britain or elſewhere; and that the conſtitution of government in this Province is founded on the natural rights of mankind, and the noble principles of Engliſh liberty, and therefore is, or ought to be, perfectly free.

Reſolved, *nem. con.* That it is the intereſt, birthright, and indubitable privilege of every Britiſh ſubject, to be taxed only by his own conſent, or that of his legal repreſentatives, in conjunction with his Majeſty, or his ſubſtitutes.

Reſolved, *nem. con. That the only legal repreſentatives of the inhabitants of this Province are the perſons they annually elect, to ſerve as members of Aſſembly.*

Reſolved

Reſolved therefore, *nem. con.* That *the taxation of the people of this Province, by any other perſons whatſoever than ſuch their repreſentatives in Aſſembly, is unconſtitutional, and ſubverſive of their moſt valuable rights.*

Reſolved, *nem. con.* That the laying taxes upon the inhabitants of this Province in any other manner, *being manifeſtly ſubverſive of public liberty*, muſt, of neceſſary conſequence, be utterly deſtructive of public happineſs.

Reſolved, *nem. con.* That the reſting an authority, in the Courts of Admiralty, to decide, in ſuits relating to the Stamp Duties, and other matters, foreign to their proper juriſdiction, is highly dangerous to the liberties of his Majeſty's American ſubjects, contrary to Magna Charta; the great charter and fountain of Engliſh liberty, and deſtructive of one of their moſt darling and acknowledged rights, that of trials by juries.

Reſolved, *nem. con.* That it is the opinion of this Houſe, that the reſtraints, impoſed by ſeveral late acts of parliament, on the trade of this Province, at

a time when the people labour under an enormous debt, muſt, of neceſſity, be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences; not only to this Province, but to the trade of our Mother Country.

Reſolved, *nem. con.* That this Houſe think it their duty thus firmly to aſſert, *with modeſty and decency*, their inherent rights, that their poſterity may learn and know that it was not with their conſent and acquieſcence, that *any taxes ſhould be levied on them by any perſon, but their own repreſentatives*; and are deſirous, that theſe their reſolves ſhould remain on their Minutes, as a teſtimony of the zeal and ardent deſire of the preſent Houſe of Aſſembly, to preſerve their ineſtimable rights, which, as Engliſhmen, they have poſſeſſed ever ſince this Province was ſettled, and to tranſmit them to their lateſt poſterity.

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